





ELEVENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESNTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,  
BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS.

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WITH AN APPENDIX.

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## R E P O R T.

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THE return of each successive anniversary of the gathering of the first Anti-Slavery Society formed in America, on the principle of Immediate Emancipation, has ever been thought a fitting occasion for a brief glance at the Past, for the encouragement and guidance of the Future. It is to a sound Philosophy that this custom owes its origin. Human experience, whether acquired in an individual or an associated capacity, is the surest guide of human action; and they are not wise, even in their generation, who refuse to listen to its lessons. But, in the hurry and excitement of the conflict with Slavery,—a conflict which is forever changing its ground, its champions and its weapons,—men are apt to forget some of the most instructive lessons with which its past history has furnished them, and the most essential to their intelligent action in time to come. It is therefore well to pause for a moment at the opening of each new year, and take a passing review of the events of that which has just closed, and of such of an earlier date as the present posture of the cause requires to be held in a fresher remembrance. In the discharge of this established part of their duty, the Board of Managers regret that severe illness should have deprived them of the services of the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, who is eminently fitted, by his intimate acquaintance with the

whole history of the enterprise, from its first inception by himself, by his intuitive sagacity, by his grasp of thought and felicity of method, to fill the office he has discharged for successive years, with signal ability, of the Annual Historian of the Cause. In thus attempting a cursory survey of the events which have marked the past year, in connection with the account we are bound to render to our constituents of our own stewardship, we are only embarrassed by the mass of facts, and the quantity of materials, which the last twelve-month has accumulated; and by the difficulty of compressing such an amount of matter within the due compass of a Report. Slavery has so intertwined itself with all our institutions,—has so identified itself with almost every branch of our civil and ecclesiastical polity,—that the history of its aggressions and its wrongs is almost identical with that of the whole country. We would therefore bespeak the patient indulgence of the Society towards the many imperfections which must wait upon the performance of the task it has required at our hands.

#### DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Immediately after the adjournment of the last annual meeting of this Society, intelligence was received of an event, which filled the whole land with excitement and discussion. It was the presentation of a petition, by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, on the 24th of January, 1842, signed by citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, praying Congress to take the necessary measures to procure a dissolution of the Union, for the following reasons:

‘ 1st, Because no Union can be agreeable or permanent, which does not present prospects of reciprocal benefits.

‘ 2d Because a vast proportion of the revenues of one section of the Union is annually drained to sustain the views and course of another section, without any adequate return.

'3d, Because, judging from the history of past nations, that Union, if persisted in, in the present state of things, will certainly overwhelm the whole nation in destruction.'

This petition Mr. Adams moved to refer to a Committee, with instructions to report *against* its prayer, and to give the reasons why it should *not* be granted. In an instant, the hall of legislation was filled with clamor and consternation. The political gamblers of the South stood aghast, when they found that the card which they had always counted upon as sure to win the game, in the last resort, might be played by their adversaries as well as by themselves. It seemed like a new interference, on the part of the North, with another of their 'peculiar institutions,' a violation of their ancient monopoly of dissolving the Union. The doctrine had almost become prescriptive law, by reiteration on one side and tacit admission on the other, that the Constitution is a bauble, to be twisted into any shape, or broken to pieces, at any moment, at the pleasure of the South; while it is to be reverenced by the North as a bright Palladium, divinely descended from Heaven, and even the suggestion that it may be altered or destroyed, to be regarded as sacrilege and treason. This mutinous demonstration, on the part of their white slaves, worked a magical change in the characters of Southern politicians. Nullifiers were metamorphosed, in a moment, into Unionists, and men who, at the rising of the sun, were skilful to calculate the value of the Union, were transformed, before its setting, into rampant defenders of the Constitution. The question of the reception of the petition was raised, and, at the same moment, laid upon the table. Mr. Gilmer, of Virginia, asked leave to introduce a resolution of censure upon Mr. Adams on the spot, and, during a stormy debate on this point, the House adjourned. During the watches of the succeeding night,

<sup>1</sup>In close recess, and secret conclave, sat

these new champions for the sacredness of the Union, and held high communion upon the threatened revolt of their Praetorian bands. According to the plan marked out by this midnight cabal, on the next morning, Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, moved a preamble and resolutions, as a substitute for the resolution of Mr. Gilmer, declaring that a proposition for the dissolution of the Union is a breach of privilege and a contempt; that Mr. Adams, in presenting this petition, had been guilty of the deepest indignity to the House, and of an insult to the People; that, for this insult, he well deserved expulsion from the National Councils, and that it is only through the grace and mercy of the House, that it only inflicts upon him its severest censure; 'this,' the resolutions conclude, 'they hereby do, for the maintenance of their own purity and dignity; for the rest they turn him over to his own conscience, and the indignation of all true American citizens!' These resolutions marked out the lists, within which the champion of the Right of Petition was set to fight, for fourteen days, with the minions of Slavery. From the 25th of January to the 7th of February, the eyes of the whole nation were fixed on that magnificent conflict. Marshall, and Wise, and Gilmer, measured swords with the veteran, and were, one after another, driven from the arena, covered with confusion. For fourteen days, he maintained the fight, single-handed, with the hosts of Slavery; and, at last, they were glad to escape from the false position they had taken up by laying the whole matter upon the table. It would be in vain to attempt to give a sketch of this magnificent scene, or to compress within our due limits any epitome of the splendid orations in which Mr. Adams maintained the right of the People to alter, or entirely to change their form of Government, at their pleasure, and vindicated his own fame from the aspersions of his enemies. Nor is it necessary; for it will fill up a brilliant page in our country's history, and those

deeds and words will be regarded by posterity as among the most admirable of the many which adorn the crowded life of that great man.

The next day, the baffled slaveholders returned to the attack in another shape. Mr. Adams was Chairman of one of the most important Committees of the House,—that of Foreign Relations. Four slaveholders, Messrs. Gilmer, Hunter, Rhett and Johnson, together with a poor sycophant from Indiana, George H. Proffit, asked to be excused from serving on this Committee, on the ground that the Chairman had proved himself ‘to be an unsafe depositary of that public trust;’ expecting, doubtless, to produce a strong sensation upon the House, if not to induce Mr. Adams to resign his post, by this demonstration. The House, however, received the communication with provoking coolness, and, upon Mr. Adams’ motion, proceeded forthwith to fill up the vacancies their resignation had caused. A few days afterwards, (Feb. 11,) Messrs. Holmes, Cooper and Chapman, all slaveholders, who had been appointed in the places of the gentlemen who had resigned, also asked to be excused from serving upon the Committee, for the same reasons; and their request was readily granted, and their places supplied by others.

The change of opinion on the part of the House, which this disposition of the affair proved to have taken place, though doubtless chiefly owing to the eloquence and arguments of Mr. Adams, was yet helped forward by the shouts of indignation which were borne to their ears by every Northern breeze. The insolence of the slaveholding faction, in thus denying to the North the right of moving in the matter of the dissolution of the Union, which had been so often tricked out as a bugbear to frighten themselves withal, and the indignities heaped upon the head of one venerable for age and for public honors, aroused a spirit of resistance on the part of the Northern people, and a

voice of denunciation from the Northern press, before which the hearts of the Southern bravoes quailed. In this instance, as in all others where the sluggish North could be urged to assume an attitude of firm resistance to the South, the South yielded, as it ever must, to the will of the stronger party. But, these outrages upon the people of Massachusetts, and their representative, were not without encouragement and support from quarters whence better things might have been hoped. The Legislature of Ohio passed joint resolutions of a character highly disgraceful to themselves, declaring that Mr. Adams had 'subjected himself to the merited censure and reprehension of his countrymen,' and 'that the House of Representatives of the United States owed it to themselves to stamp his course and conduct with the severest marks of its indignant disapprobation and censure.' Disgraceful as was this action on the part of the General Assembly of Ohio, the inaction of the General Court of Massachusetts, on the same subject, was not less reprehensible. The Committee on the Judiciary were instructed, almost by acclamation, to report strong resolutions, sustaining Mr. Adams in his noble position, and rebuking the conduct of the factious slaveholders, in terms of emphatic reprobation. But, before they could be brought before the House, a sudden and surprising change had come over the leaders of the dominant party, and they were smothered before they saw the light. It was intimated, in explanation of this phenomenon, that a letter had been received from a distinguished member of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, (asserted to be the Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, without any sufficient contradiction,) declaring that the adoption of those resolutions would endanger the passage of the Massachusetts Claims! And thus the representatives of the people of Massachusetts refused to affirm and maintain their birthright, from the sordid fear of diminishing their chance for a possible mess of pottage!

Notwithstanding these dishonorable proceedings of the collective wisdom of Ohio and Massachusetts, the impulse that was given to the agitation of the questions of Slavery and of Northern Rights, throughout the Free States, was strong and salutary. Early in March, a petition went up from Ohio, asking Congress to take measures to procure an amicable division of the United States, by a line running between the Slave and Free States, for reasons substantially the same as those that prompted the Haverhill petition. This petition was presented by Mr. Giddings, and refused to be received—only twenty-four voting for its reception. Numerous petitions, to the same effect, went up to Congress, before the close of the session, from Massachusetts, and, it is believed, from other States also. The long-prohibited question of the Dissolution of the Union was opened. The land rung with it, from one end to the other. It was discussed in newspapers, in lyceums, in public meetings, in private circles. And it is believed that the light, which was thus thrown upon the subject, helped largely to dispel the superstitious reverence, which designing politicians and priests have helped each other to throw around that blood-stained compact. Abolitionists were, of course, divided in opinion on this new measure. Many, and those among the earliest and most sagacious of their number, thought that the time had come for demanding an immediate and entire separation between Liberty and Slavery; that the true issue, to be boldly presented to the country and the world, was that of EMANCIPATION or DISSOLUTION. Others, again, were of opinion, that this was an appeal not to be made until greater efforts had been put forth to purge the Constitution and the country of the curse of Slavery, through the regular amendment of that instrument. But, however their opinions might differ as to the expediency of the measure, at the present time, they were of one mind as to its lawfulness, and as to the perfect legal and

moral right of those embracing it to agitate, as they thought best, the question of the Repeal of the Union.

#### CENSURE OF MR. GIDDINGS.

The excitement in the public mind, occasioned by the base treatment of Mr. Adams, had scarcely subsided, when another event occurred, which aroused it again with new intensity. On the 21st of March, Mr. Giddings, when called upon, in his turn, for resolutions, presented a series, relating to the case of the Creole, drawn up with admirable skill. Setting out from the exclusive jurisdiction of each State over Slavery within its limits, and the concession to the United States of jurisdiction over the high seas; and proceeding to the position, that Slavery, being a violation of natural right, can only exist by positive municipal law, necessarily confined to the territorial jurisdiction of the power creating it; he infers, that when the Creole left the jurisdiction of Virginia, she came under that of the United States, and that the persons on board, in resuming their rights of personal freedom, violated no law of the United States, and incurred no punishment; and that any attempt to re-enslave them would be unauthorized by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and incompatible with our national honor; and he concludes with a just denunciation of the coast-wise slave-trade. A motion to lay the resolutions on the table was lost. The previous question was carried. An opportunity was sought by some members of expressing their opinions, in spite of the previous question, under pretence of reasons for being excused from voting. But all these opinions were hostile to Mr. Giddings' course. Even Mr. Everett, of Vermont, denounced it as 'a fire-brand course'; while Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, characterized the resolutions as 'British arguments, of a treasonable nature, against this country!' Mr. Giddings, either having accom-

plished what he wished by the reading of the resolutions, or thinking it best to defer their consideration to a more favorable time, withdrew them. But this did not save him from the hoarded wrath of the Slave Party. They thought they had now a victim, upon whom they might wreak the vengeance which had returned upon their own heads from their baffled assault upon Mr. Adams. Mr. Botts, of Virginia, who had stood by Mr. Adams during his conflict with the powers of darkness, willing, perhaps, to show that his conduct at that time sprung from no disloyalty to Slavery, moved a preamble, stating the delicate position of affairs between this country and Great Britain, and the duty of abstaining from introducing sentiments before Congress, ‘hostile to the grounds assumed by the high functionary having charge of this important and delicate trust,’—followed by the resolution, ‘that this House hold the conduct of the said member as altogether unwarranted and unwarrantable, and deserving the severe condemnation of the people of this country, and of this body in particular.’ Mr. Botts was ruled out of order, as his State had already been called; but Ohio furnished a man ambitious of displaying his allegiance to the paramount influence of the country, and Mr. Weller presented the identical resolution of censure upon his colleague, and moved the previous question upon it. The Speaker decided, that this being a question of privilege, Mr. Giddings would be entitled to be heard in his own defence, notwithstanding the previous question. This ruling the House reversed, and then proceeded to pass the vote of censure, *without giving him an opportunity of defending himself!* An act of republican despotism worthy of Athens or of France, in their maddest days! Mr. Giddings immediately resigned his seat, and appealed to his constituents; who answered it by sending him back again, with renewed expressions of approbation and confidence, in the shortest possible time. The course of this gentle-

man in Congress has been, on the whole, highly satisfactory to the abolitionists of the country. He is understood to accept, in their broadest sense, the principles of the anti-slavery enterprise. They wait but to see the course he will take with regard to the nominations of his party for the Presidency, before awarding to him the first place among the consistent friends of Universal Freedom in the National Councils.

#### RIGHT OF PETITION.

The Right of Petition still lies bound and bleeding upon the floor of the hall of the People's Representatives. A motion was made by Mr. Adams, at the beginning of the present session, to rescind the twenty-first rule, but without success, though the majority against his motion was very small. Perhaps none of the tyrannical acts of the slave-majority in Congress have produced a more general and wholesome excitement than this blow aimed at the simplest of the natural and civil rights secured to the people by the Constitution. It is to be hoped that the people will not grow weary in their importunity, just at the moment when it seems to be on the point of being rewarded with success. On the 29th of March, Mr. Adams made a motion, which was adopted, that all petitions should be handed to the Speaker, the question of their reception or rejection to be determined by him, and such as he admitted to be referred to the appropriate committees! The wisdom of committing anti-slavery petitions to the mercy of a slaveholding Speaker may well be questioned. But, even if they should thus find their way to committees which would never notice them, this disposition of them effectually paralyzes their power as means of agitation and protest before the people, which, in the present state of things, is their chief end and aim. Mr. Adams' course, in this particular, has never, we believe, received an explanation satisfactory to the petitioners.

## DECISION OF SUPREME COURT IN CASE OF PRIGG.

The last year will be memorable in anti-slavery annals for a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, determining the construction of the clause in the Constitution securing the delivery of persons owing service or labor in one State, escaping into another, to the persons to whom such service or labor is due. A slave-catcher having been indicted and convicted, under a law of Pennsylvania, making it felony to remove, by force or fraud, any negro or mulatto, with intent to sell or detain him as a slave, except according to the provisions of the law itself, carried up his case, by writ of error, to the Supreme Bench. After solemn argument, this high tribunal pronounced its grave decision, by Mr. Justice Story, a citizen of Massachusetts. A few of the leading points of this decision are all that we can recount in this place. It begins by assuming that we know, historically, the object of this clause to be the recapture of fugitive slaves, and that it must be so interpreted as to effectuate the whole object at which it aims. It contemplates the unqualified right of ownership in slaves, which no State laws can be permitted to regulate, qualify, control, or restrain. Any State law to delay or postpone the right of the owner to the service of his slave is, *pro tanto*, a discharge, and therefore void. The owner has, in every State, all the rights conferred by the local laws of his own State, that of recapture among the rest. Under the Constitution, the owner is invested with the right to recapture his slave, wherever he finds him, throughout the Union. ‘We have not the slightest hesitation in holding,’—says Judge Story, delivering the opinion of the Court,—‘that under and in virtue of the Constitution, the owner of a slave is clothed with entire authority, in every State in the Union, to seize and recapture his slave, whenever he can do it without any breach of the peace, or any illegal violence. In this sense, and to this

extent, this clause of the Constitution may properly be said to execute itself, and to require no aid from legislation, state or national.' Or, in the plainer language of Chief Justice Taney, when referring to and explaining the opinion of the Court,— 'The master has a right, peaceably, to take possession of him (the slave) and carry him away, without any certificate, or warrant, from a Judge of the District or Circuit Court of the United States, or from any magistrate of the State, and whoever resists or obstructs him is a wrong-doer; and every State law, which proposes, directly or indirectly, to authorize such resistance or obstruction, is null and void, and affords no justification to the individual or the officer of the State who acts under it.' But, when the seizure cannot be made without a breach of the peace, or when the title of the owner is contested, then the right thus secured to him is of no practical value without a remedy. This remedy the States are not obliged, nor are they permitted, to afford. Congress has, therefore, provided it by the act of 1793, which empowers certain United States officers, and authorizes certain State officers, to assist in the capture, detention and delivery of fugitives. These officers may grant a certificate to the claimant, upon the production of evidence satisfactory to themselves of the condition of the fugitive, which certificate 'insures to owners,' in the language of Judge Wayne, 'the unmolested transportation of fugitive slaves, through any of the States, to the State from which they may have fled.' The Court further decided, that any action of State magistrates, under the law of 1793, is purely voluntary on their part. Congress has no power to compel State officers, as such, to act under this, or any other of its laws. Nor can the States legislate *in aid of*, or against, the rights of the slaveholder. The States may, clearly, prohibit their magistrates, and other officers, from any interference in the case. This was the decision of the majority of the Court, and

is, consequently, the law of the land. The Chief Justice (Taney) dissented from his brethren on the point that the States may not legislate *in aid* of the owner's rights, which he thought they were bound to do. And his opinion contained the pregnant intimation, that unless they did so, every State became an open pathway for the escape of the fugitives. Mr. Justice Thompson held, that the power of legislation on this subject was not vested exclusively in Congress. Mr. Justice Baldwin, of Pennsylvania, with a servility of spirit worthy of Scroggs or Jeffries, was of opinion that no legislation was needed from Congress or State Legislature; that the provision executed itself; and regretted that the Court had not decided, that the master may, under all circumstances, seize and bring back his slave, without warrant from any body! Mr. Justice Daniel coincided in opinion with the Chief Justice, affirming that the States might and ought to legislate for the security of the rights of the slaveholder, guaranteed to him by the Constitution. In short, the majority of the Supreme Court have decided, that the master may seize his slave, and remove him out of the State, in disregard of its laws, as he may take his horse which is running at large. In this opinion all the Judges agreed, with the honorable exception of Mr. Justice McLean and Mr. Justice Thompson, who held that, after seizure, the master is bound to prosecute his claim according to the act of 1793, before he can lawfully remove such fugitive from the State.

Such is the substance of this celebrated decision of the Supreme Court; a decision which sweeps away by a breath all the safeguards of our personal liberties, which the jealous care of our ancestors, for five hundred years, has been devoted to secure for us. And this by the tribunal which the People have established as the sacred depository of their liberties, where they might be safe even from their own excesses! The bitterness of

the wound is enhanced by the knowledge of the trusted hands that dealt it—as poison seems to its victim the more deadly, when administered by his Confessor, in the Eucharist. By this decision, the personal liberty of every inhabitant of the Free States is placed at the mercy of a single Judge, selected by his enemy. The right of trial by jury, though guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, is denied by it in the case in which, of all others, it is the most precious, not even excepting that which touches life itself, and the laws securing it to their inhabitants by some of the States, in cases affecting their liberty, inferentially declared to be void. The writ of Habeas Corpus is forever suspended, in the case in which its interference is the most essential to personal liberty. If a man claim the horse of another as his property, he must establish his claim to the satisfaction of a jury of the country. If he claim a man as his chattel personal, by mistake or perjury, he may carry him off into hopeless slavery by the certificate of a single justice of the peace, who may be the vilest and most abandoned of men,—who may, by possibility, be abiding a trial that will consign him to the penitentiary or the gallows. The whole tone of the decision is marked by the assumption that the preservation of the blessings of slavery, and not of liberty, to themselves and their posterity, was the guiding purpose of the framers of the Constitution; and to the accomplishment of that great end all the rights of the inhabitants of the Free States must be sacrificed. If this be indeed the meaning of the Constitution of Government which our fathers purchased with their blood, the battles of the Revolution were fought in vain. The star-chamber and court of high commission, in their most despotic days, never claimed for any tyrant such a power as this. If this be indeed the law of the land, and if it cannot be speedily changed, then, upon the principles in which men glory as those of the conflict

of Seventy-Six, the moment of Revolution has arrived. If ever a state of things existed, which justified an appeal to arms for deliverance from intolerable assumptions and abuses of arbitrary power, it is the one which this decision of the Supreme Court announces to be the lawful and constitutional condition of the inhabitants of the Free States. It is the business of abolitionists to endeavor, by peaceable means, to avert the necessity of this fearful remedy for intolerable grievances. Let us labor earnestly in this our godlike vocation. But, if, in spite of all our efforts, the Constitution shall still be held to be a Lie to us, which strips us of all our rights, in the name of Liberty, and places the insolent foot of the slave-master upon our necks, may we all exclaim, with one accord, and with an earnest purpose, **LET THE CONSTITUTION PERISH!** If the bond of this boasted Union be indeed but links of iron, binding our free limbs to the triumphal car of Slavery, as it crushes beneath its wheels all that we hold most dear, **MAY THE UNION BE SHIVERED, AND THAT SPEEDILY, INTO A THOUSAND FRAGMENTS!**

#### NORTH AND SOUTH.

The events of the past year have done much to open the eyes of the people of the North to the aggressions of the Slave Power upon their own rights. The unblushing impudence with which Southern blusterers can rail the seal from off the bond of the Constitution, when it does not suit their purposes, while they exact its uttermost penalty from us, has reached a point which seems almost enough to make the trodden North turn upon its trampers. The inspection laws of Virginia, subjecting the ships of New-York to a rigid search, at their own expense, until certain persons, charged with having assisted the escape of fugitive slaves, shall be given up by that State, and until the repeal of

the law granting trial by jury to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, are still in force. A pregnant illustration of the vast difference in the aspect of the Constitution, made by the position of the spectator on the North or the South of Mason's and Dixon's line, is afforded by the operation of these laws. While Norfolk is in a flame, and all the South on fire, at the violation of the Constitution, and the injury done to Southern rights, by the purchase of the slave Latimer in the Boston market, conducted with the strictest observance of the Constitution and the laws, an armed vessel lies at anchor in the harbor of that very city, ready to slip her cable and board and search every ship from New-York that sails out of the Chesapeake! An ample cause for war, according to the laws of nations, and one which would justify New-York, on the principles of that code, if she had long since laid Norfolk and Richmond in ashes. South Carolina, also, came up to the help of Virginia, at her last year's session, and passed a law subjecting the vessels of New-York to a like inspection in her ports, until the jury law should be repealed. And New-York will probably soon be freed from this insulting legislation of Virginia, by a most ignominious submission; for the new democratic Governor (Bouck) has just proclaimed his readiness to do the dirty work required at his hands by Virginia, with all the alacrity of the most abject of Slavery's slaves. The vulgar impotence of the message which conveys to the Legislature the truckling subserviency of this deinoeratic minion of despotism to its pleasure, and his disgraceful posture before the world, shed a new lustre, by force of an ignoble contrast, upon the manly and dignified State papers, and the noble and determined attitude of resistance to aggression, of his predecessor.

The flagrant breach of the Constitution, on the part of certain of the slave States, in imprisoning colored seamen during the stay of a vessel in their ports, is beginning to excite attention

and indignation on the part of men who have patiently submitted to the wrong for many years. A memorial, signed by the most eminent merchants, and many others of the principal citizens of Boston, has been presented during this session to Congress, demanding the restoration of the privileges secured by the Constitution to all the citizens of each State. The Legislature of Georgia has just defined its position by resolving, in answer to the resolutions of Massachusetts on this subject, ‘that negroes, or persons of color, are not citizens under the Constitution of the United States, and that Georgia will never recognize such citizenship!’ The reasoning of the impudent Report which ushers in this precious resolve would be worthy of exposure and castigation, had we time to bestow upon it, and did it not carry with it its own most sufficient refutation.

The many wrongs and indignities heaped by law upon our unfortunate colored countrymen in the slave States, and in some of the Free States, remain unredressed. Louisiana has revised her statutes of tyranny, and increased the severity of their provisions. Congress has just refused to repeal the laws of Florida, forbidding the immigration of free persons of color into the Territory, and compelling those who have immigrated since 1832 to depart, on pain of being sold into slavery, by a vote of 112 to 80. In most of the other slave States, the laws require no additional stringency to fit them to do their cruel work. The democratic Legislature of Ohio, however, has recently repealed the odious ‘Black Law,’ which was passed two or three years since, at the dictation of Kentucky. The controversy in Rhode Island, too, between two Constitutions, each of which outlawed the man of color,—the boasted asserters of their own inalienable rights of self-government being as ready as their aristocratic opponents to trample on those of the weaker party,—has resulted in the establishment of a Constitution, which places all the inhabitants

upon a political equality, without regard to the color of the skin.

On the 13th of January, 1842, a Convention of slaveholders, to devise ways and means for the security and permanence of their favorite system, was held at Annapolis, Md. Mr. Charles T. Torrey, a citizen of Massachusetts, attended this Convention as a reporter. A rumor getting abroad that he was an abolitionist, he was in danger of being lynched; but was at last committed to jail as an 'abolition incendiary.' There he remained till the 19th, when, although there was not a shadow of evidence against him, he was discharged only on giving bonds to appear at the next term of the County Court, and to be of good behavior in the mean time. As nothing has been heard of the matter since, it is supposed that the slaveholders learned in season, that to carry it further would be to make capital on the wrong side. This Convention recommended a course of the most proscriptive and cruel policy towards the free people of color; which excited sympathy and indignation on their behalf, even in that slaveholding region. Laws conforming to the recommendations of the Convention passed the lower House, but were thrown out in the Senate. This circumstance may be justly regarded as an indication of a strong under-current, setting towards Emancipation in the slave States themselves, and especially those upon the frontier line.

A circumstance has recently occurred, which shows the jealousy with which light on the subject of Slavery is excluded from the Southern population. A newspaper in New-York, (the New World,) had republished in its columns Dr. Channing's Address at Lenox, on Emancipation in the West Indies. The agent of the paper in Charleston, S. C., was arrested on the complaint of the Association, whose business it is to watch over the interests of Slavery, and held to bail in the sum of \$1,000,

on a charge of disseminating incendiary publications. Not long afterwards, the same newspaper republished the 'American Notes' of Mr. Charles Dickens, containing one of the most scorching and unqualified diatribes against Slavery that was ever penned. The agent applied for instructions to the Association to guide his conduct in this new emergency. But the curiosity of the people was too great to be restrained. It was one of those cases in which 'the voice and will of the Brotherhood' over-ride even their own Lynch laws; and the work of Mr. Dickens was allowed to carry its poison to all the firesides of Carolina.

These are a few of the occurrences which have especially attracted public attention to the aggressions of the Slave Power upon the rights of the Free States, and have begun to arouse it from the lethargy in which it had been so long plunged. The state of the case of the North and South was presented with eminent ability to the last session of Congress, in a memorial from Northampton, in this State, emanating, as it is understood, from the pen of DAVID LEE CHILD; which well deserves to become a *vade mecum* for all Northern men. Although the object of our association is the vindication of the rights of others, still, so omnipresent is the influence of Slavery, that we cannot attempt to accomplish it, without at the same time vindicating our own.

#### THE CREOLE CASE.

The foreign policy of the United States has exhibited, during the past year, the same devotion to the interests of Slavery that has ever characterized the diplomacy of the model Republic. In the case of the Creole, the letter of instructions furnished to Mr. Everett, the American Minister in England, by Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, has been made public. The very skill

and ingenuity with which it is drawn up places the nation whose will it is supposed to speak, in a position of the more conspicuous infamy before the world. The old Despotisms of Europe could ask for no more bitter satire upon Republican institutions than that letter exhibits. It shows, to the satisfaction of the Slave Power, that though the administration is changed, it is still not without a Northern man with Southern principles at its head. Nothing can be added to the condemnation which this abominable State paper deserves, when we say that it met with the unanimous approbation of the slaveholders of all parties. The negotiations of Mr. Everett under this letter of instructions were interrupted, if not prevented, by the special mission of Lord Ashburton; and the firmness which the British Government opposed to the demands of our own caused them to be dropped in silence.

#### THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

Equally disgraceful were the proceedings of our government in regard to the mutual concession of the right of search in the African seas. Full of a nice sense of the national honor,—the honor of thieves and bullies,—it indignantly refused to permit American ships to be boarded by British cruisers, for the purpose of ascertaining their nationality. The right to interfere with the slave trade carried on in American bottoms was not claimed. But the reclamations of the chivalric republicans made Great Britain recede from a measure which was indispensable to her forcible suppression of the slave-trade; and the American flag floated triumphantly above every slaver on the ocean. That piece of bunting was a charm which protected them from all harm in their hellish trade. Nor could the dignity of the nation suffer the concession of the mutual right of search by treaty. And when a league was about to be formed by the Great Powers

of Europe for the suppression of the slave-trade, ‘the land of the brave and the home of the free,’ the refuge of the oppressed, must be busy to hinder such a violation of human rights. Mr. Wheaton hurries from Berlin to Paris to prevent the consummation of the deed. Mr. Cass puts forth a pamphlet to increase the Anti-Anglican excitement which a party in France were striving to fan into a war. Thus did America return to France, by the hands of Mr. Cass, the favors which, half a century before, she received at those of the citizen Genet. The cabal was successful. France refused to ratify the treaty. Mr. Cass received the approbation of his government. And when he landed at Boston, on his return, he modestly attributed the civilities which some of the inhabitants tendered to him, to their approbation of his agency in this disgraceful business! This disputed question was finally settled by an agreement contained in Lord Ashburton’s treaty, that the United States should maintain a force on the African coast, and search their own vessels for themselves. How this duty will be performed, may be inferred from the fact, that a great majority of our Naval officers are slaveholders. The stars and stripes are still doomed to usurp the place of the black flag at the mast-head of the pirate.

#### TEXAS AND MEXICO.

The conduct of the people and of the government of the United States towards these two powers has not been materially modified during the past year. The same tone of insolent defiance towards the one, and of kindly fraternization towards the other, which has marked a great portion of the public men and of the press for years past, has remained unchanged. The Slave Power will never forego its grasp upon the virgin soil of Texas. The vast territory which she extends before them for the erecting of new States, to be tilled by slaves, will not be lost by that

Power, if compassing earth and hell can secure its acquisition. The jealousy of the abolitionists should never be permitted to sleep in an imagined security; for that moment will be the one chosen for the completion of the deed. It has been the incessant vigilance and ceaseless warnings of the abolitionists that has forbidden the banns of that fatal marriage. Let it not be their fault if this destruction shall yet overtake them and their children.

Our relations with Mexico during the past year have been eminently disgraceful to us. Exulting in a real or fancied superiority, our conduct towards her has been characterized by the most insulting arrogance. A minister to her court was selected as if with a design to insult and annoy her by the presence of a known enemy to herself, and an open friend to her revolted province. And when, not long after Mr. Thompson had entered upon his functions, he received a letter from Mr. Webster, instructing him how to reply to a remonstrance on the part of the Mexican Secretary of State against the aggressions of the United States, the annals of Diplomacy, though it has been styled ‘the science of lies,’ can hardly furnish a parallel to the stupendous audacity of its falsehood. Within a half-dozen years of the time when the government of the United States looked quietly on and saw men, money and munitions of war pouring across the Sabine to aid the Texan insurrection, while a strict *cordon* of troops was stretched along the St. Lawrence, to turn back Northern help from the Canadian revolt, and when a detachment of the United States Army, under General Gaines, marched seventy miles into the Mexican territory, ‘to maintain neutrality,’ the American Secretary of State has the amazing assurance to stand up before the world and deny that there had ever been any violation, on the part of the government of the United States, of its neutral duties! And he then coolly pro-

ceeds, with the logic of Æsop's wolf to the lamb, to show that the United States is the innocent victim, and Mexico the arrogant aggressor! There was at that period an evident intention on the part of the Slave Interest to involve this country in a Mexican war; and Mr. Clay significantly said, in the Senate, that there was more danger of war in that quarter than with Great Britain. This plan, however, seems to be dropped for the present; but it is impossible to say how soon it may be resumed. It is to be hoped that this change of policy was occasioned by intimations from Lord Ashburton as to the view which his government would take of an attempt to annex Texas to the United States. Unless this be the case, such is the poverty and weakness of Texas, and such the desire of the Slave Interest to get the control of her, that the North may look for speedy efforts to saddle upon her energies and resources the protection and support of a fresh horde of unrepentant prodigals in the great Valley of Rascals.

#### ENGLAND.

Whatever may be the faults of England, either at home or towards other countries, (and we would be the last to extenuate them,) she must be allowed the praise of consistent and uncompromising hostility to negro slavery and the slave-trade. Her diplomacy and her arms have been directed, as in former years, towards the extermination of these abominations. Her influence over the other Powers of Europe, and the leisure which the successful termination of her unrighteous wars in Asia will afford her, we may hope to see directed, with renewed energy, to this great object. During the past year she has demanded the liberation of all Africans and their descendants, who have been carried into Cuba since the abolition of the slave-trade by Spain. This just demand, it cannot be doubted, she will enforce. Mr.

David Turnbull, who is honorably known in this country and throughout the world as a devoted abolitionist, made himself so odious to the slaveholders of Cuba, in his office of Consul, that the British government, at the demand of that of Spain, consented to give him an honorable recal. He was afterwards appointed to the delicate office of Commissioner for the liberation of the Africans just mentioned; but, when just entering upon it, he was seized, and narrowly escaped being lynched — a circumstance the less remarkable when we remember that many of the Cuban planters are Americans — some of them Bostonians. It is not to be supposed that this outrage will disincline the British government to a prompt and effectual prosecution of their humane policy.

The case of Nelson Hackett, the slave who was surrendered by the Governor General of Canada, as a fugitive from justice, has excited a just and deep feeling of indignation in the public mind of Great Britain; which must be increased by the intelligence, which is contained in the last British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, that, after being publicly whipped, he was sold into Texas. The subject has been brought before Parliament, and though the government has shown no disposition to disavow the act of its officer, still, there is strong reason to hope that the attention and censure, which this act has excited, will prevent its ever being repeated.

#### IRELAND.

From Ireland we continue to receive assurances of the intelligent and cordial sympathy and co-operation of many noble spirits. Their good wishes and helping hands cheer and encourage us. We regret that their generous philanthropy does not inspire the breasts of more of their countrymen, who have made the United States their adopted home. The Irish Address, signed

by DANIEL O'CONNELL and THEOBALD MATHEW, and sixty thousand Irishmen beside, of which an account is contained in our last Report, created a world of sensation throughout the land. Every species of argument and of artifice were used to prevent its having its due effect. And with but too much success. Recreant Irishmen seemed to be ambitious of outshining their free and enlightened neighbors in their vulgar and cruel prejudices. That the great mass of the uneducated peasantry, who had been trodden beneath the feet of all in their own country, should feel elated at finding themselves suddenly elevated to the peerage of the skin, and should enjoy the new pleasure of trampling upon others, was not, perhaps, to be wondered at. But it was humiliating to see the better informed class of emigrants,—the clergy, the editors, the orators,—infected by breathing the pestilential atmosphere that hangs over the land, with the very spirit of tyranny which they fled from their native shores to escape. And, above all, was it mortifying to perceive the effect of the unlooked for issue of this movement upon the great Agitator himself; to see him humbling himself before the false public sentiment of a slave-ridden land, from the paltry fear of losing to his favorite Agitation the precarious possibility of a few blood-stained dollars !

#### HAITI.

The recent visits of our friends and fellow-laborers Henry G. and Maria W. Chapman to Haiti have opened a new communication with that most interesting island. During the past year, we have received intelligence of spirited anti-slavery meetings at Port au Platte — of the formation of a Society auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of contributions to its funds. The proceedings of these meetings evince a very intelligent acquaintance with the character of the anti-slavery men and

measures of the United States, and a hearty determination to co-operate with them. We cordially extend to them the right hand of fraternization, and invoke their sympathy and assistance in this holy work.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Legislature of this State disappointed, at their last session, the reasonable hopes of the lovers of freedom and humanity. The odious marriage law yet disgraces her statute-book, and a portion of her citizens are still exposed to brutal treatment, without protection of law, upon the rail-ways chartered by the Commonwealth, on account of the complexion which God has given them. The fact that two of these rail-ways at least, (the Eastern and New-Bedford roads,) have received the assistance of the State, including that of the citizens they insult and abuse, makes this state of things the more disgraceful. The numerous petitions, asking redress of these grievances, were referred to a Joint Committee, of which the Hon. Seth Sprague, Jr. was Chairman. This Committee, after hearing the petitioners by their counsel, made a Report favorable to their prayer, and submitted bills drawn in conformity with it. The bill for the repeal of the marriage law passed the Senate by a large majority, but was defeated in the House, after passing through the several previous stages, on its passage to be engrossed, by a vote of 140 to 136. The bill for securing the rights of rail-way passengers was indefinitely postponed in the Senate, by a vote of 18 to 13. The closeness of these votes is a favorable omen of a more successful result during the present session. Vulgar prejudice and sordid ruffianism were, of course, not without their representatives during the debates on these questions; but there were also spirits of a loftier and more generous nature, in the ranks of both the political parties, who were prompt to do battle for the

Right. Among these we may be permitted to select the name of Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, one of the representatives from Boston, the only son of the venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, who honorably distinguished himself by the zeal and ability with which he maintained the native equality of human rights,—the assertion of which has been, for three parts of a century, the crowning glory of his house.

VERMONT.

This mountain State has again uttered forth its note of defiance to Slavery, in tones which cannot be misunderstood, and must make themselves heard. The following resolutions have been passed by the unanimous voice of both Houses, and received the sanction of the Governor. It will be seen that they cover the whole ground, in the most uncompromising manner.

‘Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives,—

‘1. That, as the Representatives of the People of the State of Vermont, we do protest against the admission into the Union of any State whose Constitution tolerates domestic slavery, or the annexation of Texas, or any other territory, in which slavery exists.

‘2. That we believe that Congress have the power, by the Constitution of the United States, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the United States; and that, if Congress refuse to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, the seat of the general government ought to be removed from that District, to a place where slavery and the slave-trade do not exist.

‘3. That we believe Congress has Constitutional power to prohibit the slave-trade between the several States in this Union, and to make such laws as shall effectually prevent this trade, and ought to exercise this power.

'4. That the Constitution of the United States ought to be amended, so as to prevent the existence and maintenance of slavery in the United States, in any form or manner.

'5. That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to present the foregoing resolutions to their respective Houses in Congress, and to use their influence to carry out the principles thereof.

'6. That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.'

#### POLITICAL PARTIES.

Nothing has occurred during the past year to take either of the great political parties out of the pro-slavery category, in which Anti-Slavery has long since placed them. Individuals in both have shown a disposition to apply their distinctive idea to the subject of slavery; but, as bodies, they are rival suitors for her smiles. The Whigs have opened the electioneering campaign by placing before the nation the name of HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, as the candidate of their choice for the Presidency. This disgraceful nomination has been made in several of the States, without waiting for a general Convention, including, we regret to say, our own. The party, or the individual, that can sanction the nomination of this 'bold bad man'—the most unblushing and the most subtle of the champions of slavery—to fill the highest office in the nation, deserves to be branded as hostile to human Freedom. The whole course of Mr. Clay, while it has shown him not to be blind to the curse slavery brings upon the land, has proved him to be ready to sacrifice the true interests of the country and the rights of millions of his countrymen to the gratification of his selfish ambition and to the aggrandizement of the interests of his party. There is no public

man in the country, whom abolitionists should regard with more jealousy and suspicion than Mr. Clay. The ungovernable violence of George McDuffie, and the calmer, but not less deadly, hostility of John C. Calhoun, are harmless, compared with the crafty arts of this wily politician. No man among slaveholding statesmen has made baser or more fatal compromises with the Slave Power—compromises of which all the concessions were on the side of Liberty. This unblushing prostitution of his great name and his great powers to defend and sustain that abominable system on the floor of the Senate, and his insulting reply to the respectful address of the Friends in Indiana, are fresh in the remembrance of us all. He is, moreover, at the head of that giant Imposture, the American Colonization Society, which has for its object the perpetuation of slavery by the expatriation of the free people of color, and which is the fostering nurse of the cruel prejudice which crushes the hearts of that unhappy class of our countrymen. The agents of this double-faced handmaid of slavery, (Messrs. Gurley and Bulfinch,) have been busy in New-England during a portion of the last year — happily, we believe, with very small success; but, as a part of the fruits of their labors, a communication from the Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society appeared in the Boston papers, marked by the audacity of misrepresentation which has ever characterized the public statements of that Society and its auxiliaries, stating its great necessities, and commanding it to public patronage, and concluding with the modest opinion, that ‘it is justly entitled to the countenance and to a reasonable support from the government of the country’! This document was signed by Dr. J. V. C. Smith, Chairman; Rev. Messrs. William M. Rogers, William Hague, Parsons Cooke, George W. Blagden, Lyman Coleman and B. B. Edwards, and Messrs. Henry Edwards and Albert Fearing — some of which gentlemen are prominent

Whigs, and all of whom, we believe, are members of that party. So that, in the event of Mr. Clay's election, we may hope to have those ruinous Colonies saddled upon the industry of the Free States, in addition to all the rest of the burdens which Slavery has entailed upon it. That some attempt will be made, should Mr. Clay succeed to the Chair of State, to bring this infernal machine, which has been discarded in disgust even by its old friends, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to bear more effectually upon the rising hopes of Emancipation, is highly probable from the nature of the case and the character of the man. This man, thus deeply committed to the defence, and steeped in the guilt, of slaveholding — whose daily bread and necessary raiment are extorted from unpaid laborers — who buys and sells men and women like sheep or bullocks — is the first choice of Puritan Massachusetts for the highest office in her gift! And when, in Fanenil Hall, the question was asked of the Convention that thronged its walls, whom they would have to reign over them, the roof was almost rent with the shouted name of Henry Clay, the manstealer and the duellist! And how many of those men, with whose voices the old walls rung again, were chosen vessels of the Churches of Massachusetts! In the midst of the many glorious memories that hang around that world-famous Hall, there are some recollections which they who reverence it would fain have obliterated from their minds — and amongst these this scene occupies a painful pre-eminence. We are happy to know, however, that there is small probability of this nomination being sanctioned by the People. In Ohio, New-York and Massachusetts — the States on which the friends of Mr. Clay most confidently relied — the Whig candidates for Governor have been defeated, and because, it is supposed, their election would be considered as an acceptance of his nomination.

The Democratic party have not yet selected their candidate, though Mr. Calhoun has been nominated by the Legislature of South Carolina. Whoever the candidate may be, however,—be it Calhoun, Benton, Johnson, Buchanan, Van Buren, or Cass—whether Southern tyrant or Northern sycophant,—we may be sure that none will be selected who is not ready to lick the dust before the Idol of the nation.

There are indications, however, that a change in the character of the political parties impends, and there is reason to believe that they will finally divide on the true issue—of Slavery and Anti-Slavery—of North and South. To this complexion they must come at last; and the sooner the politics of the country take this natural posture, the better for the parties and for the country.

#### THE CHURCH AND MINISTRY.

Formidable, however, as are the obstacles which the pro-slavery political parties oppose to the progress of our cause, still more difficult to surmount are the impediments which the great religious parties throw across its path. Claiming a supernatural origin and authority, they possess an influence over a large class of minds, superior to that which the secular factions can obtain. The ramifications of the great sects extending over the slave States, and embracing within their folds multitudes of men, to whom slavery, in the words of the pious Recorder of New-Orleans, ‘is not less dear than Religion itself,’ it is necessary that they treat this matter with the tenderest of care. To disclaim fellowship with slaveholding churches would be to dissolve their glorious ecclesiastical Union, not less dear in their eyes, or essential to their aggrandizement, than the civil Union to aspiring statesmen. The great mass of the churches, and of the ministers who predominate over them, of all the principal denomina-

tions, have received their baptism in the blood of slaves. They are covered all over with the filth and unutterable uncleanness of slavery. While they stand apart from other men as holier than they, and recount their observance of times and seasons, their fastings, their alms and their prayers, and while they overwhelm with their excommunications or their anathemas those who differ from them on metaphysical abstractions, or who are guilty of deviations from morality ‘which the voice and will of the brotherhood’ refuses to ‘allow and protect,’ they can pass by on the other side when millions of their fellow-men lie wounded and bleeding by the wayside, and at the same time welcome to their pulpits and communion tables, as beloved brethren, the very thieves who have robbed and stripped them and left them half dead. A common assault and battery, or the theft of a loaf of bread, would be a crime to call down upon the head of pastor or professor the thunders of the church; but, if a man approach it with his pockets filled with the earnings of which he has robbed other men, and his hands yet red from the stripes of his brethren, and he is received as a holy brother into its bosom, and entreated to break unto them the bread of life. Of such damning inconsistency and diabolical hypocrisy is the great American Church daily guilty. Certain fragments of it profess to have freed their skirts from this bloody iniquity, but none have effectually accomplished this purification who in any wise acknowledge, directly or indirectly, the Christian character of any of the great denominations which include slaveholders or their apologists within their limits. The church which refuses to admit slaveholders to its pulpit or communion table, and yet remains in connection with the great denominations that stretch themselves from the St. Lawrence to the Sabine, or which recognizes the Christian character of those who are thus implicated, have but commenced their lustration. No consistent abolitionist can have any part or

lot with any such church. He cannot serve Belial without denying Christ. Purity and uncleanness, justice and theft, love and violence, cannot dwell together. Every man must decide which he will choose as his abiding guest,—one or the other must fly from before his face. These statements of facts are not random denunciations. We do not set up a standard of our own, and then condemn the American Church and ministry for not coming up to it;—we try them by their own standard, and then proclaim their short-coming, if they cannot stand their own test. If they do come up, in this respect, to their own standard of duty, and in good faith and sincerity attack this sin with all the zeal, and with all the weapons, with which they assault minor breaches of morality, and we give them all the honor to which the faithful discharge of duty, under circumstances of peculiar temptation to unfaithfulness, is ever justly entitled. But, if an ecclesiastical body, or a minister, claims and exercises the right of discipline and excision for any crimes, and yet passes by unrebuked the crime which involves in itself the violation of every moral law, and treats the criminals and their anointed accomplices as holy and religious men, it is no deviation even from their own rules of judging, to pronounce such a church and such a minister, a member and a servant, not of Christ but of Satan.

In view of these horrible corruptions, it is not to be wondered at that earnest men should think that the church and ministry must be first destroyed, before the system of which they are the bulwarks can be successfully assaulted; nor that they should apply themselves to this preliminary work with singular devotedness and zeal. Of his individual duty in this respect every man must decide for himself, standing or falling to his own Master. As the officers of this Society, we have not felt ourselves at liberty to direct any portion of the funds which have been entrusted to us by persons of every variety of opinion on these and

other subjects, to be devoted directly to the abolition of negro slavery in our country, to any other purpose than the direct agitation of that subject. We felt that, with our views of duty, it would be as much a breach of faith in us to apply money contributed for this purpose by one who believed in the divine origin and authority of a church and ministry, to a direct attack upon those institutions, as such, as it would be to appropriate the funds of one believing them to be false and mischievous, to their defence and maintenance. On the platform of this Society all men and all associations of men stand on a perfect equality. We demand of all of them all that they have to give in this holy cause, and we can ask no more. Of his ability and duty every one must judge for himself. When he has publicly set up a standard of duty, and made an admission of ability, then we hold him to them both, or convict him of inconsistency or hypocrisy out of his own mouth. We make proclamation to all the world to come up and help us abolish slavery,— men and women, fighting men and non-resistants, Christians and infidels, ministers and laymen, church-members, Quakers and *Come-outers*. We all agree to help one another in the thing about which we are agreed, and agree to differ as to all the rest. If a man simply and honestly applies his anti-slavery principles to all the relations he himself deems binding upon him, it is all we have a right to ask. If a church or a minister do sincerely and thoroughly treat this sin, its perpetrators and abettors, near and remote, direct and indirect, as they treat all other crimes and criminals, and we have no quarrel, on this platform, with their office. If a political partisan refuse to give his vote or support for any office to any man who is not a consistent enemy of slavery, and we have nothing to say against his Whig or his Democratic principles. So of all other things. If we think united action an important instrumentality, we must consent to this mutual for-

bearance. Union is an agreement among those uniting, to do a particular thing at a particular time. Good faith requires them to use that time and their other common means for their common end. It would be pleasant to do many things at once, but God has not so made us, and we must submit to his ordination. At other times, and in other places, the same persons will do very different things. A man may stand shoulder to shoulder with another on this platform, in the common cause of Anti-Slavery, from whom he shall differ world-wide the moment they are off it, as to church, ministry, civil government, and a thousand other matters. The anti-slavery platform is a noble and ample one, and fully sufficient for all its purposes, and for the accommodation of all who wish to occupy it, — **BUT IT DOES NOT COVER THE WHOLE WORLD.** There is room enough in the world beside for individual and united action against the various other iniquities and oppressions with which the earth is filled. This platform is erected for the extirpation of negro slavery. We should be careful not to exclude any man from it by any shibboleth implying the rejection, any more than the acceptance, of the church, the ministry, civil government, or any of the thousand points on which men differ. Let us not divert attention from the true issue of the fidelity or treachery of men to their own avowed standard of duty, to the false one of whether or not that standard is the right one. All we may demand of men standing on that platform, (and let us exact it to the uttermost farthing,) is, that they faithfully apply their own principles and method of action to this matter, as they do to all others. As to the correctness of their principles and method, every one must settle it with his own conscience and with his God.

## THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upon the principle we have just laid down, of making their own standard of duty the test by which to try the fidelity of all men and of all bodies of men, in the matter of American slavery, we are furnished with a rule which no man can gainsay in the case of the religious Society of Friends. While in the case of most of the other denominations, we are obliged to infer their inconsistency and hypocrisy from their refusal to treat the sin, and its perpetrators, which is the sum of almost all other sins, in the same manner that they treat the single crimes that go to make it up; but, on the contrary, recognize as members of Christ's body and as ministers of his gospel, men bending beneath an accumulated mass of abominable wickednesses, whom they would scourge from their presence should they approach them stained with the guilt of but one of its component parts; we are reduced to no such necessity with regard to the Society of Friends. They have recorded their testimony against slavery in their Discipline; and, at stated times, the inferior are bound to render an account to the higher meetings as to the fidelity with which they have maintained it. They have proclaimed before all the world their abhorrence of the crime of holding man as property, and their duty with regard to it, and it is the privilege of the world to watch their conduct, and judge of its correspondence with their professions. And how have they performed this vital part of their acknowledged duty? Has the country rung with their emphatic denunciations of this giant iniquity of our time, as did the world of two centuries ago with the fulminations of George Fox and his compeers against the wicked institutions and the crimes of that day? Does the land rock with the agitation which the successors of those sons of thunder have aroused in view of the injustice, and cruelty, and wrongs, with which the land is filled? Are our prisons thronged with Quaker confessors,

as were those of England and America in the seventeenth century,—men faithful unto bonds and death to the integrity of their testimonies? The external polity of the Society of Friends remains unchanged after the flight of two centuries, but a change has come over the spirit that inspired those forms. The business of Friends in those days was, to assault the great iniquities that overshadowed the world; and, in the discharge of it, they cared not what opposition they aroused, or what persecutions they encountered. In these days, and in this country, their pleasanter occupation seems to be, to live upon the capital their fathers accumulated, and to enjoy the vineyard, which they planted at such cost, in peace and quiet. In those days, they thundered forth their testimonies at the market-crosses, on the hill-sides, and by the sea-shores, to countless multitudes;—their successors of the present day sleepily whisper them in the ears of yearly meetings. In those days, they were dragged to jails, for going into steeple-houses and speaking in men's ears truths which the hearers rejected and hated;—now, they themselves thrust men into prisons for uttering in their meetings testimonies they profess themselves to love and uphold. There are individuals in the Society—there may be meetings—that uphold the testimony of the Society against slavery; but truth compels us to say, that the Society, as a body, is false to its own standard of duty. And, in this particular, there is no difference between the divisions into which it is separated. The Society of Friends has felt the force of the corrupt public sentiment of the nation, in common with the other religious denominations, and yielded to its pressure like them. Its conduct in this regard is in no wise favorably distinguished from that of the other sectarian divisions into which what calls itself the religious world is divided, while its inconsistency with its own professed principles is more glaring than theirs. The churches have excommunicated members for rebuking their

neglect of a duty which they do not acknowledge to be one;—the Society of Friends has disowned men for pointing out its unfaithfulness to one of its own acknowledged testimonies. The sects have done what they could to discourage their members from taking part in the anti-slavery movement, from their avowed hatred of its object;—the Society discountenances Friends in promoting it, when its purpose is what they themselves acknowledge to be right, and binding upon all mankind. The sects have shut out suppliant Humanity, in this hated shape, from their churches, because they regard them as ‘holy ground, dreadful places, and the temples of God,’ and, as such, not to be desecrated by being put to so secular and profane a use. The Friends, also, in some parts of the country, have, like them, denied her a refuge in their meeting-houses, though they claim for them no greater sanctity than belongs to any other ‘house made up of lime and stones and wood,’ and though they make loud professions of the peculiar love and reverence they bear her. The churches profess to regard their organizations as sufficient for the redemption of the world from all wickedness, that of slaveholding amongst the rest, and frown upon unordained and unsanctified interference with iniquity as an infringement of their monopoly. The Society of Friends is at least equally jealous of its peculiar prerogative of reforming mankind, and pronounces those of its members worthy of blame, if not of discipline, who unite with persons of a different method for the rescue of the slave from his abyss of misery, while no effectual voice of censure is heard forbidding the union of Friends with the world’s people in commercial, financial and political associations, for the accumulation of wealth, or the acquisition of power.

During the past year, Isaac T. Hopper, James S. Gibbons, and Charles Marriott, have been disowned by the Rose-street monthly meeting in New-York, for the crime of being engaged in the

support and publication of a paper which tends to excite discord and disunity among Friends. This paper is the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which Society these individuals were a part of the Executive Committee. The offence which the paper had given to the Society of Friends was the admission to its columns of a contradiction of gross misstatements and misrepresentations of the nature of the principles and measures of abolitionists, by George F. White, a minister of the Society of Friends. The editor of the paper was the only person justly responsible for what was admitted to its columns, and they were as freely opened to one side of the controversy as to the other. But an example was necessary, and the execution was summary. The decision of the monthly meeting has been confirmed by the Westbury quarterly meeting, and, subsequently, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper, by the yearly meeting. James S. Gibbons declined an appeal to the yearly meeting, and the case of Charles Marriott was prevented from reaching it till May, 1843, by the action of the quarterly meeting. Thus the Society has cast out from amongst it three of its most exemplary members — one of them a father in its Israel, in years and just authority — in effect, for being members of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The yearly meeting at Baltimore, on the 31st of October, 1842, issued an Address to the Society on the subject of slavery, which defines the position of the Society of Friends with sufficient accuracy throughout the country. Of course there are individual members, and particular meetings, that will repudiate the doctrines of the Address. It begins by grossly misrepresenting the avowed purpose of anti-slavery associations to be the ‘abolition of slavery in our country by *political* or other means of a *coercive* nature,’ and on this ground deprecates the implication of Friends

in such associations. But this is from no abatement of the concern of the Society for the advancement and prosperity of their well-known testimony against slavery. O, no! The testimony is then borne, of which it is enough to say, that it is copied by slaveholding prints with approbation. The danger of haste and impatience is feelingly dwelt upon; the calumnious warning against 'joining with others in contriving or supporting a system of coercion, whereby the slaveholder shall be compelled to perform an act which he may not apprehend himself called upon to do,' is again slanderously enforced; and the more excellent way of the application of the truth in love to the heart of the slaveholder recommended. The history of the origin and progress of this testimony among Friends is given, and the assertion is made, that, in thus 'taking it up, publicly and openly, they did not desire to *invade the privileges* of their neighbors, nor in any way improperly to interfere with them'! \* \* \* 'And valuing above all things the liberty to act freely, according to the dictates of the Divine Light, the Society felt no disposition to invade the sacred right of others to the same enjoyment'! The Address then proceeds to recount with complacency the movements of the Friends in support of this testimony, and dwells, with almost ludicrous satisfaction, upon the fact that they have excited no hostile feelings in the minds of the slaveholders, either towards themselves or the colored people; that they have created no dangerous excitement in the public mind, ending in tumults and riots; but that their appeals have been received with respect, and listened to with patience. This state of blessed quietism they contrast with the agitation produced by the action of the Anti-Slavery Societies, and candidly attribute the violence and outrage with which it has been accompanied to the manner of their assault upon slavery, rather than to its instinctive perception that their blows are aimed with mortal effect. The Address proceeds to

repeat the thrice-slain fallacies of the retardation of emancipation, and the deterioration of the condition of the slaves and free people of color; and again, in the same lying spirit, it warns their friends and brethren every where to pause and reflect before ‘entering into associations founded upon principles, or governed by motives, inconsistent with the mild, forbearing, and peaceable spirit of the gospel’! ‘We may rest assured,’ it goes on, ‘that all attempts to effect the liberation of the slaves, by coercive measures, will be met, as they already have been, by a counteracting force, and if persisted in, will finally lead to violence—perhaps to bloodshed’! \* \* \* Such is a brief abstract of this address, than which a more cowardly, time-serving and slavish document never proceeded from pro-slavery priest or presbytery. It can only be redeemed from the condemnation of fatuity in which the absurdity of its positions and the weakness of its logic would plunge it, by the bold falsehood of its direct charges, and the covert malice of its insinuated slanders. And this Address, we are told, was adopted with but two or three dissenting voices! We cannot, surely, be condemned as wanting in charity, when we place the division of the Society that submits to the jurisdiction of this yearly meeting by the side of the other great pro-slavery sects that predominate over the land. Nor can we marvel, if such be the construction, by this important body, of the principles, the history and the testimonies of their glorious predecessors, to hear that Henry Clay, the slaveholder and the duellist, made a decided impression on the respectable Society of Friends in Indiana, in his recent electioneering tour. ‘The wavering among them,’ writes the correspondent of the Richmond Whig, ‘have been confirmed, and the confirmed made enthusiastic. A delegation of Friends waited on him, to invite him to attend their meeting on the 2d, (Sunday.) When retiring from his room, the spokesman of the delegation—a venerable

old man—took Mr. Clay by the hand, and said, “ Fare thee well, Henry; God be with thee, and we will!” ’

#### ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

The operations of the Board of Managers during the past year have only been limited by the means that have been entrusted to their charge. Agents of tried fidelity and devotedness have been employed in various portions of the State, with excellent success. Besides our indefatigable and enterprising General Agent, John A. Collins, we have had in the field, at different times and for different periods, Messrs. George Bradburn, Frederic Douglass, Parker Pillsbury, J. B. Sanderson, Addison Davis, Abel Tanner and James Boyle; besides a large number of local agents, whose labors in their immediate vicinity have been efficient and acceptable. The services of these gentlemen have been highly effective in attracting attention to the great truths upon which our enterprise rests, and to the duty and interest of the people of the North in this behalf. In addition to our regular forces, we have had the occasional help of volunteers in our disproportioned warfare, which has been of great value to its successful prosecution. Among these we may be permitted to mention Messrs. William Lloyd Garrison, Charles L. Remond, and Wendell Phillips, whose services have been eagerly sought and freely rendered, and whose words have commended themselves to many hearts. The Depository has been the means of disseminating truth among the people to a considerable extent, and we hope that increased attention will be given by the Society to the instrumentalities it is capable of affording, and that the Board will be enabled to enlarge and extend its publishing department. For the financial condition of the Society, we would refer you to the Treasurer’s Report.

The cause has been pushed in other sections of the country

with signal energy, and with the happiest success. The operations of the Parent Society have extended themselves over a large field, and have been attended with results of the highest prosperity, and by signs of the most joyful augury. The people have been almost every where found ready to hear the anti-slavery gospel in its simplicity, and to renounce their old opposition, or the false doctrines which they had embraced in its name. Feeling that, though our field was more contracted, our cause was the same, and our interests identical, with those of the Parent Society, we had no hesitation in resigning to it, for a season, the services of our General Agent. He has for some months occupied the same post in the service of the American Society, and has directed its operations, under the supervision of the Executive Committee, with the same zeal and energy which he has expended for the last four years upon our own. The attention of the American Society has been especially directed to those States in which it has no State auxiliaries, in consequence of the secessions of 1840. Labor has accordingly been devoted, with great success, to Ohio, Western and Central New-York,—in all of which regions new and efficient State auxiliaries have been organized,—to Connecticut and Maine,—where such organization will be speedily effected,—and to Pennsylvania. A strong impulse has been given to our cause in those portions of the country, which needs but to be effectually followed up, to help strenuously forward the moral revolution in which we are engaged. The services of Abby Kelley, J. N. T. Tucker, Ezra C. Smith, Jacob Ferris, James Monroe, George Bradburn, and many others, have been devoted, with eminent zeal and success, to the promotion of this work. Frederic Douglass was, also, for a short period, in the service of the American Society, and William Lloyd Garrison devoted a few weeks, towards the close of the year, at the urgency of the friends in Western New-York, to

to the cause in that region, with the happiest effect. Nothing seems now to be wanting to produce a deep and lasting impression upon the public mind of the Free States with regard to their duties in the matter of slavery, but to provide the American Society with the means of placing the truth before it.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The Women of Massachusetts, and of the world, have come up to the help of the cause, in its necessity, as in former years. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair was held in Amory Hall, during Christmas and New-Year's weeks, with unprecedented success. The beautiful spectacle was a happy memorial of the many hours which had been devoted to the memory and the service of the slave. The proof of the rational enthusiasm pervading so many minds, and filling up so many hours in humble, yet exalting labors for a despised cause, afforded by this scene, is in the highest degree animating and encouraging. The increased attendance, too, on the part of the public, was another cheering sign of a growing change in public sentiment. The Fair was furnished from many towns in the State, and by liberal contributions on the part of transatlantic friends. The anti-slavery Women of England, Scotland, and Ireland, have proved their zeal by their works, as they have done before, in the cause of the American slave. The Glasgow Women's Emancipation Society have expressed their intelligent sympathy with the anti-slavery movement in this country, in the form of able resolutions, as well as by the elegant productions of their skill. So have the Cork Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, to whom the abolitionists of the United States owe gratitude for the encouragement of their earnest friendship, as well as of their helping hands. To mention all the kind friends who have sent us testimonials of the love they bear our cause, across the Atlantic, is forbidden by

our space. Their offerings added greatly to the beauty of the spectacle and to the amount of the pecuniary result. The LIBERTY BELL was issued in a more attractive and beautiful form than ever. The Hall was adorned by the capital Vandyke, and other valuable paintings, presented to the Massachusetts Society by John C. Gore, and by portraits of distinguished individuals, given to the Fair by Mr. Eames, of Albany. The amount received was more than \$2,600, a sum larger, by more than one-fifth, than at any previous Fair. Other Fairs have been held in various parts of the State, the proceeds of which have gone into the treasuries of the Massachusetts and American Societies. The eminent success which has attended this measure, of which the value is very inadequately represented by the pecuniary result, will, we are sure, encourage the anti-slavery Women of Massachusetts to renewed exertions in the cause they have so much at heart.

#### DEATHS.

Each year, as it rolls away, bears with it some of our tried and loved companions from the conflict to their reward. The one that has just departed has not left us without its legacy of such lessons. Early in the year, the venerable JAMES FORTEN, of Philadelphia, closed his long and honorable life. This gentleman may be regarded as having been the Patriarch of his injured race. The energy of his character, the steadfastness of his integrity, the native dignity of his mind, and the amenity of his manners, in a great measure disarmed the prejudice of which he was the born victim. He commenced his career by helping to fight the battles of our spurious Revolution, and purchasing liberties for his country, which he was not permitted himself to enjoy. The chief of his life was spent in honorable and successful application to business, in which his skill and industry

rewarded him with wealth, while his integrity and worth secured him the confidence and respect of the mercantile community. He was among the first to warn the colored people of the United States of the delusions of the Colonization Society, even in the palmiest days of that inhuman scheme. From the earliest days of the anti-slavery movement, he took a decided and intelligent part in it, unterrified and unseduced by the various assaults which have been made upon its integrity, by open enemies, or by hollow friends. In the enjoyment of an ample fortune, and in the bosom of an affectionate and accomplished family, his latter days went down in peace ; and when he died, all classes vied with one another in their demonstrations of respect for his character and his memory.

As the year drew on towards its close, Death entered within our own circle, and laid his hand upon one of ourselves. On the 3d of October, HENRY GRAFTON CHAPMAN passed away from the earth. He entered the cause at a time when it presented the cross to the novice, which his nature and position made the bitterest for him to assume. A merchant,—the scowl of the Exchange, trembling for its blood-stained gains, was before him. A man of education and refinement,—the loss of his position in society, and the estrangement of ancient friendships, awaited him. The public sentiment of his own public,—the most difficult of all influences to withstand,—raged around him with all the fury of a time when the pro-slavery spirit amounted to a fanaticism. His sensitive and affectionate nature, though concealed beneath a calm and reserved exterior, was keenly alive to the price which he was thus called upon to pay for a conscience void of offence. But, he never hesitated or wavered for a moment in his choice. When he discerned where Duty beckoned, he pressed ‘right onward, bating no jot of heart or hope,’ at the prospect of the sacrifices demanded of him. And, through-

out a period when the most diverse temptations to unfaithfulness beset the pathway of the abolitionist, he was ever clear of vision, firm of step, dauntless of heart, wise of counsel. For several years, he was the Treasurer of this Society, and in that capacity, and as a member of the Board of Managers, he won, as he deserved, the confidence and love of all officially connected with him, by the practical wisdom and the untiring zeal which he brought to the service of an odious cause. At the next meeting of the Board, held after his death, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

‘ Whereas, the interval which has elapsed since the last meeting of this Board has been marked by the decease of one, whose counsels and services it has long enjoyed; and whereas, it is due to the survivors, as well as to the dead, that rare excellence should not pass away without a testimony to its worth being recorded by those who knew it well while yet on earth; therefore,

‘ Resolved, That we entertain a deep sense of the loss the anti-slavery cause has sustained in the death of our beloved brother, HENRY GRAFTON CHAPMAN; a sense arising from the knowledge which years of co-operation and sympathy have given us, of his purity of character, his moral courage, his unselfish spirit, his unswerving fidelity to duty, and his earnest devotion to the cause of right and justice,—especially as embodied in the anti-slavery movement.

‘ Resolved, That our most affectionate sympathies wait upon our respected and beloved friends, the parents, widow, and other near relations of our departed friend; and while we feel that the commonplaces of consolation would be misplaced on this occasion, and that the serene and beautiful ending of so sincere and truthful a life would be dishonored by a selfish sorrow, we would still assure them that we will endeavor to mourn the dead as he

would wish to be mourned, by striving to imitate the example he has left behind him of devotion to the great cause of freedom, which was so dear to his heart.

'Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the parents and widow of our deceased brother, and that they be published in the Liberator and Standard.'

At a later period, we have been deprived of the earnest help of one who devoted himself, with beautiful enthusiasm, to the cause of odious truth. In WILLIAM P. RIPLEY, of Plymouth, the slave has lost an untiring friend, and his cause a most efficient laborer. In advanced life, he retained all the simplicity and ingenuousness of youth. His presence was a benediction. His zeal was wise and unwearying. The leisure of his age was blessed by its consecration to a great and unselfish end. The anti-slavery cause seemed to have become a part of his being. 'It was the darling thought, the morning and evening prayer of life.\* His heart and his hand were devoted to it while he lived, and it was upon his lips in the hour of death.

The name of PHILANDER WARE, too, deserves an honorable mention in this place, though his modest nature would have shrunk from a conspicuous mention of his worth. This excellent man was an early and devoted abolitionist. His unobtrusive virtues won for him the esteem of all who knew him. His zeal and liberality in the anti-slavery cause entitled him to the love of all who loved it. He used the opportunity of a testamentary bequest to put to the proof the pretended religious institutions of the day. He left one half of the proceeds of a farm, (which sold for near \$4,000,) to the anti-slavery cause, and the

\* For a more extended notice of the character of this good man, see the beautiful and excellent Sermon, preached at his funeral, by his friend and minister, the Rev. GEORGE W. BRIGGS, of the First Church in Plymouth.

other half to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on condition that they would pledge themselves, in a certain specified manner, never to receive the contributions of any slaveholder into their treasury; in case of refusal to comply with this condition, the whole to go to the anti-slavery cause. The Prudential Committee of the Board, after due deliberation, and referring the subject to the Board, at its last annual meeting, held at Norwich, Ct., finally declined accepting it on the condition imposed. The whole amount, therefore, remained for the benefit of the anti-slavery cause, in the hands of his executor, Abner Belcher, of Wrentham, to whose sole discretion its application was entrusted, and whose name is a sufficient guaranty for its judicious and faithful expenditure.

The past year has also been marked by the death of one, who, though he neither was, nor wished to be accounted, one of us, should not be unremembered at a moment devoted to the memory of the dead. The Literature of the world mourns the loss of WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. The legacy which he has left to the world is a noble one. His writings are informed with the love of freedom, and breathe a deep feeling of reverence for mankind. This sense of the value of humanity gave him a clearer vision, than was vouchsafed to most men in his position, of the wrongs and the rights of the American slave, after his attention had been practically attracted to the subject by its agitation by the abolitionists. His views on the subject have been embodied in a series of works extending over the last ten years. These works are stamped with the impress of his genius, and adorned with the flowing beauties of his style, and must ever commend themselves to all the lovers of eloquence. It is to be regretted that any of them should be marred by even the appearance of an attempt to divert public censure from those who were upholding slavery to those who were assaulting it. The splendid

declamation of this fine writer against slavery was robbed of much of its power by the excuse which his denunciation of the only shape which active opposition to it had assumed, gave to the cowardly and the lukewarm for their selfish indolence. The magic of his great name, however, no doubt attracted the attention of multitudes to the subject, who would never have entertained it for its own simple merits. This class of persons, though not, perhaps, the most valuable to the world, are still valuable to themselves, and their opinions go to make up the Public Opinion which is the despotic power of our land. Whoever, then, has imparted even to a torpid soul a sense, however dreamy, of human rights, which it had not before, has done a good work. Though we cannot, in justice, accord to Dr. Channing the character, which he ever even vehemently disclaimed, of an abolitionist, in the highest sense of the word, we are ready to accord to himself the praise of a clear perception and a hearty abhorrence of the wrongs of slavery,—and to his works, after all just deductions, the credit of having helped forward the great Revolution, in the midst of which we live. It is pleasant to know that each succeeding work was an improvement upon its predecessor, both in indignant denunciation of slavery, and in a juster appreciation of the Philosophy of Reform. The last work which emanated from his mind—the Address at Lenox on the First of August—was the most thorough, and the most free from blemish, of all. It must ever be a gratifying memory to the friends who cherish the fame of that eminent man, as it is to all who reverence exalted worth, that his last public accents should have been uttered in the great behalf of human liberty.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The last annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was attended with circumstances of unusual interest. The

general mind was, at that time, strongly stirred by the agitation of the question of the Repeal of the Union. The editor of the Liberator, in an article urging a large attendance of abolitionists at the annual meeting, suggested that this topic would probably be one of those presented to its consideration. ‘The first of these topics,’ he said, ‘in importance, is the duty of making the REPEAL OF THE UNION between the North and South the grand rallying-point, until it be accomplished, or slavery cease to pollute our soil.’ This article was copied into several of the servile pro-slavery prints of New-York, with comments of the most inflammatory nature. It was the obvious purpose of the most infamous presses of that city,—such as the Courier and Enquirer, the New-York Observer, and Bennett’s Herald,—to excite the popular mind to the point of tumult and violence. They desired to see their city again the scene of such sacrifices and of such a ritual, as had propitiated the Slave Power for a season, seven years before. Lest this demonstration might not be sufficient to arouse the people to a display of their allegiance to the patriarchal institution, Judge MORDECAI MANASSEH NOAH enforced their appeals in a Charge to the Grand Jury of the Court of Sessions. He recounted that the ‘official gazette’ of the abolitionists had avowed that the question of Repeal would be openly discussed at the Abolition Convention about to be held. ‘The people have an undoubted right,’ says this second Daniel, ‘to assemble and discuss any question connected with their own rights and the preservation of our free institutions; but it is unreasonable to suppose that any such Convention will be permitted to suggest, much less to discuss, a project embracing a dissolution of our happy government. Should the experiment, however, be made, which would evidently tend to a disastrous breach of the peace, it will be your duty to present the agitators and indict every person whose active agency may lead to such re-

sults; and this Court, by the rigid enforcement of the laws, will convince any body of men, making this city the theatre of their deliberations, that their objects and intentions must be strictly legal, rational and justifiable.' That is, the mob were informed in advance, that if they were pleased to attack an assembly of the people, convened 'to discuss a question connected with their own rights and the preservation of their free institutions,' the innocent objects of their violence, thus lawfully assembled, by the Court's own showing, should be indicted and punished for the breach of the peace, and not they who committed it! It was a satisfactory proof that the zeal of Northern mobocracy had in some degree waxed cold in the cause of Southern slavery, that all these incentives, and this promise of indemnity and assistance on the part of the Courts of Justice, did not produce the outbreak they were designed to excite.

After these demonstrations towards a breach of the peace had been made by these tools of slavery, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society felt it to be their duty to put forth a 'Correction,' in the daily papers of New-York, of their malicious misrepresentations of the character of Mr. Garrison's article. While we do the fullest justice to the good faith and good intentions of the Committee, we regret that they should have issued a document, having even the appearance of being extorted by threats of popular violence; and still more, that it should have been couched in language which seemed, however unintentionally, to imply that this question was one which the American Society could not constitutionally entertain — and, even, that its agitation would be a means inconsistent 'with morality and the rights of citizenship.' Our entire confidence in the anti-slavery integrity of that Committee, as well as their own explanations of their meaning, convinces us that such was not the impression they intended to convey of the constitutional or

moral limitations of the discussion of this topic. But, we cannot but regard it as unfortunate that the Committee should not have employed, when defining their position at so important a crisis, language that could not be easily misunderstood or misrepresented. While we feel bound to record our opinion that this 'Correction' was ill-judged and ill-timed, we are bound emphatically to re-affirm our perfect conviction of the good faith and good intentions of the Committee that put it forth. That our confidence in them is unshaken, is proved by the part that those of us who attended the annual meeting took in their re-election to office, and the efforts we have since made to sustain their operations. The fidelity with which those engaged in a great and unselfish enterprise like ours point out each other's errors, and the spirit of love in which such interposition is received, knits their souls yet closer together, instead of dividing them. This faithfulness, which has ever marked the public and private intercourse of all true abolitionists, is a sufficient refutation of the false charge of partizanship, which is sometimes alleged against them. They tell the truth in love to the friends, as well as to the enemies, of their cause; and in this mutual fidelity they find the strongest confirmation of their mutual love, esteem and confidence.

If the editors of the New-York papers, and the Judge of the Court of Sessions, hoped, by their incendiary menaces, to deter the abolitionists from repairing to New-York, or from discussing the question of Repeal, they were certainly very much mistaken in their men. The only effect which they produced was, to induce a much larger attendance than usual, and a resolute determination that this topic, if none other, should be publicly discussed. It was accordingly debated, in the amplest and most public manner, for a large portion of the time of the meeting. The debates were reported in the papers of the day, with comments calculated to arouse popular rage. But the meetings, though

thronged, were undisturbed by any symptom of violence, and were adjourned in peace, after having accomplished all the purposes for which they were held.

#### RIOTS.

Although the purpose of these unprincipled men to excite a mob, on the occasion just described, was defeated, events soon proved that it was not because the mob-spirit was extinct in the country. On the First of August, the colored people of Philadelphia attempted to commemorate that glorious day by a procession and temperance celebration. Molestation and interruption was offered to them by the mob, which soon grew into a formidable riot, and held possession of certain portions of the city for three days. The chief actors, on the part of the whites, were Irish laborers — moved, it is supposed, by the competition of the blacks in the labor-market. The other citizens, however, and the authorities of the city, were accessory to these outrages in a disgraceful manner. It cannot be doubted, that if the same assault had been made upon the lives and property of inhabitants of the more wealthy quarters, instead of upon those of the despised colored population, the Mayor would have effectually repulsed it in its first beginnings. As it was, violence and bloodshed possessed the city. A public hall, erected by a wealthy colored citizen, for the moral and intellectual improvement of his race — a church, belonging to the same persecuted class — and many private houses, and a large amount of property, were burned or destroyed by the mob. Many personal outrages were perpetrated upon the unhappy blacks, and multitudes of families were stripped of all that they possessed, and reduced from a comfortable condition to one of abject poverty. The sick were driven from their beds into the streets, and helpless children scattered from the protection of their parents. When the public buildings of

the colored people were in flames, the fire companies refused to play upon them—thus making themselves accessories to the cowardly guilt of the mob. These excesses were frightful and disgraceful enough, but the worst remains to be told. A hall had been built by the colored people, with the assistance of white friends of temperance, to be mainly devoted to the cause of total abstinence. The efforts which had been made in this cause had produced so great a change in the habits of the neighborhood, that many of the dram-sellers were obliged to relinquish their trade. It was also used for religious meetings. Notwithstanding the innocent purpose and the great benefits of this hall, a petition was presented to the General Court of Sessions, (Judge Doran presiding,) representing that there was well-grounded apprehension that it would be burned by the mob, and therefore was a nuisance. The Judge gave the matter in charge to the Grand Jury, which, after inspection, presented it as a nuisance, and it was torn down by the Commissioners of the District! A base and cowardly submission of constituted authority to unlawful violence, that has scarce a parallel in history! These disgraceful scenes ended at last, apparently rather because the mob had done all they wished, than from any efficient resistance on the part of the authorities to its outrages. While many of the public prints laid all the blame of these disgraceful deeds upon the colored people themselves, and upon the abolitionists, still there were not a few that uttered forth a generous indignation. These acts of violence were not perpetrated by the more fortunate classes of society, as were those of 1838, when Pennsylvania Hall was offered up a burnt offering to slavery; but by the most degraded portion of the whites. Whether the poverty and ruin that have visited almost every Philadelphia household, sent thither by slaveholding bankruptcy, have had any effect in softening their hearts, we cannot say. But we are sure that if there

is any generosity of sentiment, or any just sympathy with the wrongs and sufferings of the weak, the scenes of August must arouse them to redress the wrongs and elevate the condition of the colored population of Philadelphia.

Our own State was disgraced by outbreaks of a similar description, and inspired by the same spirit, though happily attended with less of mischief, soon after these occurrences in Philadelphia. A series of anti-slavery meetings was held in New-Bedford and Nantucket, during the second week in August. The criminality of the church and clergy, in the support of American slavery, was made a prominent topic of discussion, and excited a strong degree of agitation. In New-Bedford, the riotous demonstrations proceeded no further than noisy disturbances of the meetings; but in the peaceful island of Nantucket, they assumed a more formidable aspect. Violent assaults were made upon the places where the meetings were held—the halls injured—and some of those present wounded. The meetings, though they were continued longer than was at first proposed, were at last broken up by the mob, which, for several days, had complete possession of the town, and was restrained in its excesses only by its own pleasure and sense of propriety, by in no effectual measure by the public authorities.

A riot of a murderous spirit disgraced the city of Portland about the beginning of September, caused by the testimony of the dauntless Stephen S. Foster against the corruptions of the church and ministry. His life was with difficulty rescued from the fury of the mob. Other outbreaks of fury, in various parts of the country, have occurred during the past year, but we are compelled to pass them over without more particular notice.

## CASE OF THOMAS PARNELL BEACH AND OTHERS.

A strong excitement has prevailed extensively during the past year, in consequence of the personal abuse and imprisonment of some abolitionists, of rare devotedness and resolution, in this State and in New-Hampshire, on account of their conscientious discharge of what they believed to be a religious duty. Stephen S. Foster, Thomas P. Beach, Nathaniel Allen, and Erastus Brown, and perhaps some others, have felt themselves called upon to enter the meeting-houses of various sectarian denominations, on the first day of the week, when they were assembled for their religious services, and to utter in their ears the story of the wrongs of the slave, and of their own blood-guiltiness. For performing what they regarded as a duty of binding obligation, they have been treated with the utmost indignity and outrage, their lives and limbs have been endangered, and they have been confined in various prisons for different periods of time. Thomas P. Beach, in particular, after having been forcibly ejected from the meeting-houses of the Friends in Lynn and of the Baptists in Danvers, was indicted for the offence of disturbing public worship, and, upon conviction, sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. Conscientious scruples prevented him from permitting his friends to pay this fine for him, and, for default of payment, he was committed to Newburyport jail, where he lay for more than three months. He was at last released, under the provisions of a statute made to meet the case of persons imprisoned for inability to pay a fine. During the time of his imprisonment, his case excited much attention and deep sympathy. Public meetings were held, in various places, to give expression to the public feeling on his behalf. A little sheet, entitled ‘A Voice from the Jail,’ carried far and wide the opinions of its incarcerated editor. Even many who felt no sympathy for his method, or for his doctrines, were moved at the spectacle of a

good man suffering for conscience sake. And a general joy pervaded the anti-slavery public when he was released from confinement without any compromise of his principles. Whatever may be thought of the measure these excellent men have adopted, on the general principles of natural right, it will doubtless appear to many minds in strict conformity with the Apostolic model, which the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Friends,—the denominations that have so evilly entreated them,—claim as especially their own. It would seem, in this view of the case, as if, on the platform of those sects at least, they had the right to stand and utter the word that was given them. Should this be denied of the other two denominations, it cannot well be gainsay'd of the Society of Friends. Friends dragging men out of their meeting-houses, and shutting them up in jails, for speaking the truth in them, when viewed in the light of the days of George Fox, is as preposterous a sight as devotees of the heroes of Seventy-six shouldering their muskets to suppress an insurrection of slaves. Indeed, in the view of Christian duty taken by the great mass of the sects, we see not how they can be condemned. If the command to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and the injunction to utter the truth in men's ears, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear, are to be understood in the literal sense attributed to them by the church in general, and practically illustrated in its missionary operations, every man is bound to obey them according to the light that is given him, and the church, at least, is foreclosed from blaming him. We conceive, however, that there is a natural right which contradicts this theory of Christian duty,—for Christianity is the exposition and enforcement, never the infringement, of natural right. The right to speak is an undoubted natural right. But there is another natural right, co-extensive with this, and touching it at all practical points,—THE RIGHT TO REFUSE TO

HEAR. It may be in the highest degree criminal in a man to shut his ears to the words of truth, but he has a perfect natural right to do so, as between himself and a brother man. For his use or abuse of this right, he is accountable only to Him who, by giving him his being, invested him with all his rights. When individual men, or bodies of men, either directly refuse to hear a particular truth, or surround themselves by circumstances which are well understood to amount to such a refusal, at a particular time and place, we think that the refusal should be respected, on the ground of natural right. Their refusal may spring from base and wicked motives,—they may enhance their guilt by the evil passion and vindictive cruelty with which they enforce their right,—but their right remains the same, and may not be justly violated. While these views of our own duty in this matter must prevent us from adopting this method ourselves, we do not presume to prescribe or dictate to others, who have arrived at other conclusions, the course that they shall pursue. To their own Master they stand or fall, as we to ours. To the single-heartedness, zeal, and devotion to duty, of the men who have thus proved their sincerity by their sufferings, we bear our most earnest and affectionate testimony. We offer, and invite, mutual co-operation and assistance in the measures which we can employ in common, for the promotion of our common cause,—agreeing to differ, in a spirit of perfect brotherhood, as to those in which we cannot unite.

#### NEW ORGANIZATION AND THIRD PARTY.

The evil principle, with which we have had to contend in former years, embodied in what was technically called NEW ORGANIZATION, has almost ceased its open hostility, in that shape, to our enterprise. Having accomplished the purpose of its erection,—the covering of the retreat of the weary of the anti-

slavery warfare back to the church and the world,—it may now be regarded as dead, and its memory is passing away. The little it had to bequeath, at the time of its demise, it left to its natural heir, the Third political party, which calls itself by the name of Liberty. One demonstration of New Organization proper, however, was made last May, which should be put on record. An ‘Evangelical Congregational Anti-Slavery Convention’ assembled in Boston, in that month, to which ministers and members of churches of that denomination were invited to come up. Among the rest, unhappily for the peace of the Convention, came Stephen S. Foster, well known as a troubler of the churches. Being a technical church-member, his right to speak was admitted by the President, before his hated name was known; but when it was ‘whispered with white lips’ that it was none other than that pestilent and seditious fellow, a multitude of devices were invented to silence him. Finding him impracticable, however, and determined to insist upon his right, the Convention was compelled to deal with him as the church has been before obliged to do with obstinate heretics and incorrigible recusants,—to turn him over to the secular arm, which conveyed him away, with unusual circumstances of violence and cruelty, to the common jail, and left the Convention to such peace as the prayer that sanctified this act could impart. The next morning, after considerable difficulty in preventing the escape of the officer who had him in charge, and still more in catching a Judge to try him, he was discharged with apologies, on his statement of the facts in the case, no prosecutor appearing against him. Mr. Foster’s religious scruples against such redress, alone secured those who procured his imprisonment from exemplary damages, and perhaps from a personal punishment.

The distinction which was at first attempted to be made between New Organization and Third party, is now proved to be

scarcely a difference. The business of the Abolition Society, in this State, has been, for a year or two past, almost exclusively, the support of its paper, the Emancipator and Free American, and that paper is the chief organ of the Third party. There are men in the ranks of that party, whose sympathies and whose efforts, except in the direction of political action, are with this Society, and who abhor the falsehood and malice of the factious secession of 1839; but we think that time will prove to them that they cannot consistently or honestly continue to give their countenance to that movement. That the original intention of those who first set the Third party on foot, in this part of the country, was, to divert the attention of the people from the corruptions of the church to those of the state,—from the pulpit and the communion-table to the polls and the ballot-box,—we consider as fully established as any fact can be proved by moral evidence. Circumstances have occurred during the last year, that seem to show, that the distinction which we have been inclined to make in favor of the supporters of this plan in other parts of the country, is without foundation. On the 5th and 6th of October, a ‘Liberty party’ Convention was held at Syracuse, N. Y., at which a war extermination against the American Anti-Slavery Society was proclaimed. It commenced its session by invoking the aid of the gag for the furtherance of its purposes. The largest liberty was given for calumny and invective against the American Society, its members and its agents, while no opportunity was allowed to several of the latter, who were present, to reply to the slanderous charges brought against themselves and the Society they represented. And this pitiful and tyrannical procedure was justified by *political and ecclesiastical usage!* The Convention knew that the allegations made against the American Society could not stand the sifting of free discussion; and as their object was the attainment of a selfish end, instead

of truth, they suppressed it with all the eagerness of a slavery-ridden Congress. After the way had been prepared by a sufficiency of preliminary vituperation, the grand attack upon the American Society was made, in the form of ‘An Address,’ reported by a Committee, of which William Goodell was Chairman, ‘to the Abolitionists of the State of New-York, who believe it wrong and absurd to retain a connection with the pro-slavery parties, commonly called Whig and Democratic.’ The Address is of great length, and prepared with considerable ingenuity; its main object being the establishment of these two propositions:

1. ‘The American Anti-Slavery Society does, by its leading members, agents, and publications, encourage a continued connection with the existing Whig and Democratic parties.
2. ‘Abolitionists, therefore, who believe it wicked and foolish to retain a connection with those parties, ought not to patronize the American Anti-Slavery Society, its publications or agents, or *identify themselves with their meetings.*’

The first of these two propositions is argued at far the greatest length, and with a good deal of adroitness. Facts are so managed as to give all the confirmation that can be extorted from them to the extraordinary falsehood it contains. It admits, indeed, that the American Society ‘does not advocate voting for such men as Tyler, or Clay, or Van Buren, or Calhoun. They often speak strongly against *these men!*’ The *gist* of the elaborate and long-winded argument is, that the American Society, under the false pretences of recommending to its members the use of their political power independently of all parties, is swindling them out of their votes, for the secret benefit of the Whig party! It would be a waste of time to expose the fallacy of positions which refute themselves, or are contradicted by the most notorious facts. The American Society stands where it

has from the beginning in this regard. Its policy is the same now that it was when it was the theme of praise to many of those who now are most forward to denounce it,—Mr. Goodell among the number, besides Messrs. Birney, Green, Wright, Whittier, Gerrit Smith, Stanton, J. C. Jackson, and others. The unpardonable sin of the American Society consists in its consistent refusal to depart from its original ground, which it assumed and maintained with the cordial approbation of these gentlemen, of ‘not organizing a new political party, but making it the interest of the parties already existing to act upon abolition principles.’ It is its firm determination to pursue the policy marked out in the Annual Report of 1837, and to warn the abolitionists of the ‘political wolves that will put on the clothing of abolitionism, and seek to elevate themselves, and manage the anti-slavery organization to secure their own purposes,’ that is the head and front of its offending. The leaders of this petty faction have failed in their attempts to wheedle, and we think they will not be able to bully, the American Society into assisting them to the spoils of victory. It will continue, we trust, to recommend to its members to assume a noble and disinterested attitude towards the two great parties. To disclaim all wish for office for themselves or their friends, but to demand, as the price of their support, the nomination of men who will employ the whole of their political power for the extinction of slavery, wherever they can reach it. The philosophy of this policy,—if so generous a plan deserves so ignoble a name,—has been argued at length in former Reports and documents emanating from this Board. The merits of the Third party have also been fully discussed, and we do not know that we can add any thing to the views and arguments we have already put forth. This Society heartily agrees, in principles and in measures, with the Parent Society, on this subject; and an assault cannot be made upon

the character and existence of the one, without implicating the other in the attack. If the American Society has been guilty of betraying the cause into the hands of its enemies, so also have we. In a contest such as the Syracuse Address invokes, we must stand or fall together. We have no fears for the result of the campaign.

Besides the general arguments, which we have set forth at large, on former occasions, as to the policy of the Third party, as an anti-slavery measure, we have objections to its principal candidate, and its leading editor, which we think should deter any abolitionist from giving either any countenance or support. We will briefly state them. Mr. Birney, the candidate of the Liberty party for the Presidency, had been a member of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society for successive years, and was so in 1839-40. The confidence of the abolitionists in that Committee was greatly shaken, among other things, by the countenance they afforded to the factious secession in this State of 1839. At the annual meeting of that year, the Society proposed reducing its operations, chiefly on this account, and limiting its Committee to a certain sum. The sum generally agreed upon, as the proper limit, was \$32,000, though many preferred a smaller sum. From a delicate regard to the sensitiveness of the Committee on this subject, no formal vote was taken, but the general sense of the Society was fully ascertained, and it adjourned with the understanding that it would be obeyed. This informal intimation of the will of their constituents should have been even more binding upon men of honor, and especially upon abolitionists, than an obligatory vote. The Committee, however, immediately proposed a plan of operations requiring \$100,000, and actually raised nearly \$50,000 in about six months. By that time, the long lingering confidence of the abolitionists was wholly exhausted, and they refused to furnish any

more funds. This stopping of the supplies was a certain pre-sage to the Committee that the sceptre was about to depart from them. They foresaw that they were almost sure of being dismissed from office at the approaching annual meeting. It became then their object to prevent as much as possible of the property of the Society from returning into the possession of its lawful owners. The most valuable part of this property, to its owners, was the Emancipator, in which they had invested, from first to last, not less than \$20,000. Other property and assets, however, to the amount of more than \$18,000, chiefly in publications, was also in their hands. For the purpose of retaining the Emancipator under their own control, in case they should be dismissed from office by its owners, who had entrusted them with it, they transferred it, within four weeks of the annual meeting, when its owners could provide for it, to a Society of young men, entirely under their control — their other selves — under pretence of poverty, ~~if~~ WHILE AT THE VERY TIME THEY HAD MORE THAN EIGHTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS WORTH OF THE SOCIETY'S PROPERTY ON HAND, and while, at the very same meeting, they voted a large sum of money, more than sufficient to sustain the Emancipator till the annual meeting, to pay the expenses of Mr. Birney, and Mr. Stanton, another member of the Committee, to the London Anti-Slavery Conference. To this act Mr. Birney consented. To this act, too, Mr. Leavitt consented, who was also a member of the Board, and who was then, and still continues, editor of the Emancipator, and has got his livelihood from it from that day to this. The Emancipator being thus placed beyond the reach of its legal owners, the remainder of the Society's property was to be next provided for. Mr. Birney's salary, as Secretary of the Society, being in arrear, notwithstanding that \$20,000 more had been received by the Committee than the Society had been

willing that they should collect, it was paid in publications, at *half the wholesale price*, to enable him to realize the cash, and his salary for the next four months was also paid in advance. The extraordinary sum, also, which was voted to him for his excursion to England, at the meeting when the Emancipator was conveyed away for want of funds, was paid in the same manner. What remained of the property, after paying the other salaries, was assigned to Messrs. Lewis Tappan and S. W. Benedict, in trust, to secure certain debts and liabilities! So that, when the Society came together, to call to account and to discharge their unjust stewards, they found themselves robbed of their organ, and left penniless in the world!

In view of these facts, we are constrained to say, that a party which will consent to use, as its chief organ, a print thus obtained, and to employ as its leading editor the man who was one of the trustees entrusted with it by its owners, and who used his delegated power to convey it virtually to himself, can claim no just superiority over the other parties, in point of high moral principle, or a nice sense of honor. And we do further affirm, that we can hardly conceive it possible that the two great pro-slavery parties should nominate any candidate for the highest office in the nation, less entitled to the votes of abolitionists than James G. Birney.

It is needless for us to say, that when we exhort abolitionists to refrain from giving their support or countenance to the Third party, both on the ground of its intrinsic merits and of the character of its leading candidate and editor, it is from no wish that they should sustain either of the others. We are not afraid to appeal to our lives, which have ever been in the presence of all our brethren, for the refutation of such a suspicion. Let every voter resolve, under any possible circumstances, to vote for no man, for any office, but a consistent friend of freedom, and all

that legislation can do for the advancement of our cause will be speedily accomplished.

#### THE LATIMER CASE.

A case of singular interest, as a practical illustration of the manner in which the blessings of liberty have been secured to their posterity by the framers of the Constitution, as expounded by the Supreme Judicature of the country, occurred during the past year. On the 19th of October, a native of Virginia, of the name of George Latimer, was seized, without warrant, and confined in the lock-up in the Court House in Boston, at the request of one James B. Gray, another Virginian, who claimed him as his property. It being apprehended that it was the intention of Gray to convey Latimer privily out of the State, a writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out in his favor, which was returned on the 20th before a full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. His detention was justified on the ground that a warrant had been issued against him by the Police Court, for larceny committed in Virginia, and also that he was a fugitive from labor. After argument, the Court decided that he was lawfully in the custody of his claimant's agent, until the question of his condition should be decided by a Judge of the United States Court — waiving the decision of the other points raised. On the next day, (21st,) Latimer was brought before Mr. Justice Story, and the counsel of Gray, Elbridge Gerry Austin, city attorney, moved for a certificate that Latimer was his slave, and also asked for time to procure evidence from Norfolk of his condition. This was resisted, on the ground that every man is to be presumed free until he is proved to be a slave, and that a claimant was entitled to no favor, if not ready with his evidence when his demand was made. The Judge ruled, however, that it had always been the custom to give time to procure evidence in such cases, and gave a written

order that Latimer should remain in the custody of Gray until the day of trial. The complaint for larceny had been previously withdrawn, and Gray fell back upon his Constitutional rights as a slave-master, on the merits of the case alone. No order of commitment was issued by Judge Story. Latimer was simply remitted to the custody of Gray, to whom, by the Constitution and the law of 1793, as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States, it properly belonged. On the same principle, the privilege of bail could not be secured to him by the Courts, because it was a matter with which they had nothing to do. The person who chose to put himself in the position of claimant of any other person as a slave was above all law—he might hold the object of his pursuit in any way and any where he pleased. The principle was in effect laid down, that if a man choose to seize a free-born citizen of Massachusetts, either through mistake or malice, and swear that he is his slave, the person claimed is by that act divested of all his rights of citizenship; all laws made by his native State, for the protection of personal liberty, are *ipso facto* repealed; the trial by jury is abolished in his case; he loses the right of bail, which belongs to every criminal, except those confined under capital charges; the *habeas corpus* is suspended for him, and he is to be committed to the custody of his enemy, until evidence can be procured or manufactured of his servile condition. Mr. Gray had every reason to be satisfied with the facilities extended to him by the Courts of the United States and of Massachusetts. Nor had he any reason to complain of the inferior officials. The city attorney was ready to act as his counsel, the city police was eager to serve as his body-guard, and the city jailer to act as his slave-keeper. This latter functionary, Mr. Nathaniel Coolidge, accepted the office of agent for Gray, and took Latimer into his private custody, using for the purpose of safe-keeping, and for his own private emolument, the jail

which the inhabitants of Boston had built for the detention of criminals, and which the high sheriff of Suffolk had entrusted to his charge for that purpose. A writ of personal replevin, provided for cases of this description by the act of 1837, securing a trial by jury to the person charged with being a slave, was sued out, and returned before Mr. Chief Justice Shaw on the first of November, who heard the argument in favor of granting the writ in the jail parlor, and then decided, without calling upon the counsel of Gray, that this was not a case to which that writ was Constitutionally applicable. That the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg settled that such a remedy was an illegal hindrance of the rights of the owner, and therefore void. It was accordingly refused, and Latimer left in the custody of his claimant, and his agent, the Boston jailer. The Chief Justice dwelt at some length upon the importance of this compromise, by which every inhabitant of Massachusetts is put at the mercy of any inhabitant of Virginia, as essential to the establishment of the Union! As if the strongest despotism, or the wildest anarchy, that was ever known, was not to be preferred to such a Constitution of government, if its provisions could be practically carried out!

But, ready as the slave-catcher found the Courts of the United States to yield their help, and devoted as the attorney, the police, and the jailer of the city of Boston, were to his service, there was an element of resistance in the public mind, which neither he nor his tools had dreamed of. The wrongs of the slave, and the duties of the North, had not been rung in the ears of the people by the abolitionists, for ten years, in vain. Though they had by no means done their perfect work, they had at least excited sufficient attention to make multitudes perceive the enormity of the outrage, which was committed upon themselves, as well as upon the stranger that had sought a sanctuary among

them. A deep feeling of indignation pervaded the most intelligent and humane portion of the community. This feeling was not suffered to grow cold. A public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, on Sunday evening, October 3, which was very numerously attended. A small body of disorderly persons, among whom it is asserted confidently Gray himself was active, succeeded in preventing most of the speakers from being heard. It went through all the usual forms, however, and the resolutions were adopted by a great majority. The outrageous conduct of the mob excited universal indignation, and probably drew a more general attention to the subject than the most successful meeting would have done. Public meetings were held soon after, in various parts of the State, and a loud voice of remonstrance went up from them against these atrocious proceedings. A newspaper, issued frequently, called the Latimer Journal and North Star, scattered over the city and country the facts and arguments in the case. This novel organ of a fugitive slave, confined in the prison of the Puritan city of Boston, for no crime but that of loving liberty too well, did an excellent work, and reflected much credit upon the gentlemen who planned and chiefly conducted it, Dr. Henry I. Bowditch and Mr. William F. Channing. The excitement in the public mind increased as the day of trial approached. There was reason to apprehend that Latimer could not be removed without forcible resistance. His hopes of deliverance from the Court which had his fate in its hand, in view of the principles on which such cases had been immemorially decided, seemed but faint. The general agitation which the crisis produced in the popular mind was a wholesome symptom of a healthy change of public sentiment. As the day of trial approached, however, an unexpected way of deliverance was opened to the captive. The conduct of the jailer and of the sheriff had caused a general disgust. The perversion of the

property of the county to the private end (and such an end!) of an unprincipled individual, and the tame submission of the sheriff, whose servant, removable at his pleasure, the jailer was, aroused a degree of indignation which those officials had not expected. A petition, signed by respectable citizens and distinguished lawyers, was presented to the sheriff, demanding the dismissal of Coolidge, as a person unfit for his post; and another was prepared, to be forwarded to the Governor, requesting the dismissal of the sheriff, for the same reason, unless this request was complied with. These demonstrations caused a change of conduct. The sheriff intimated to the jailer that the prison must be relieved of the presence of Latimer, or of his own. The jailer, in his turn, intimated to Gray that he would keep Latimer no longer than to produce him in the Municipal Court, where he was commanded to bring him as a witness in a case of some colored persons indicted for an attempt to rescue him, but that afterwards he must take care of him himself. This brought Gray to terms, and he endeavored to make as good a bargain as he could. The persons who had been most active in the service of Latimer, when they understood how matters stood, refused to pay any thing at all for him, believing that he must be released the next day without terms. The officious interference of another person, however, together with an apprehension that Latimer might be smuggled out of the State by Gray, induced them to consent to pay \$400, on the delivery of free papers for Latimer, and the giving up of the power of attorney to reclaim his wife. This proceeding we cannot but lament, not merely because it was unnecessary, but because it was in effect a bargain and sale of a man on the soil of Massachusetts, and a virtual (though not an intended) recognition of the right of property in man.

A Convention had been summoned to meet on the 12th of November, being the Saturday preceding the day fixed for the

trial of the case, to take into consideration the rights and duties of the freemen of Massachusetts in the premises. The discharge of Latimer previous to the time for holding the Convention relieving the excitement of the general mind, materially diminished its numbers. Still, it was well attended, and its proceedings marked by much spirit and enthusiasm. A form of petition to the General Court was agreed upon, asking that body to forbid all persons holding office under any law of this State from aiding or abetting, in any way, officially or under color of office, the arrest or detention of any person claimed as a fugitive from slavery; to forbid the use of our jails or public property, of any description whatever, within the Commonwealth, for the detention of any alleged fugitive from slavery; and to propose such amendments to the Constitution of the United States as shall forever separate the people of Massachusetts from all connection with slavery. A Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Henry I. Bowditch, William F. Channing, and Frederick S. Cabot, to attend to its circulation and presentation. This Committee attended to their duty with praiseworthy assiduity. Conventions have been held in the counties, and meetings in the towns, to forward the petition, and it has been very numerously signed. We entertain a strong hope that the just and reasonable prayers of this petition will be readily granted by the General Court at its present session.

Great, however, as was the excitation of public feeling in Massachusetts, at the prospect of the success of Gray in his nefarious design, it was at least equalled in intensity, and surpassed in noisy demonstration, by the agitation of Virginia at his signal failure. Norfolk had been feasting in anticipation on the promised joys of Latimer's lynching. Its disappointment was bitter. The whole press of Virginia teemed with the grossest abuse of Massachusetts and Boston, and all that it contained, except the

Courts, and the city attorney, Austin. The requisitions of the Constitution, as construed by the slaveholders' own Supreme Court of the United States, had been rigidly observed. If there had been any breach of law, it was in favor of the master and not of the slave. For weeks, the public property and the public officers of Massachusetts had been at his disposal, and when, at last, they were withdrawn, it was no more than the Supreme Court had said might be lawfully done. And, moreover, a round sum of money had been paid as a valuable consideration, and the proper title-deeds of this peculiar species of property delivered. Yet, in the face of all this, the transaction was represented as a violent infringement of Southern rights, and the most inflammatory appeals made to Southern prejudice. Public meetings were held in Norfolk, and, we believe, in other places, to protest against the treason of Boston in refusing to do more than the Constitution requires for the service of the Slave Power. Some of the Chivalry have talked loudly of putting the militia upon a footing of warlike preparation! And a general appeal for redress or retaliation has gone up to the Legislature of the State! The Governor of Virginia has since sent on a requisition for Latimer as a fugitive from justice, with which Governor Davis, after taking time for deliberation, has refused to comply, for reasons which have not yet been made public. Should it be unfavorable to the demands of Virginia, we may look for some further exhibitions of that nice regard for the Constitution, which the Old Dominion has evinced in her hostile legislation towards New-York. The impotent rage, the insolent gasconades, the sound and fury, of the baffled tyrants, have only served to prove their inherent weakness, to give disgust to those who were unthinkingly inclined to sympathize with them, and to encourage and strengthen those who have devoted themselves to a war of extermination against the system of which they are at once the

supporters and the victims. Whatever may be the issue of the conflict in which Virginia seems disposed to engage with Massachusetts upon this quarrel, we may be assured that it will be in favor of liberty. Revolutions cannot go backward. The more desperate the efforts of its enemies to stay the progress of a great moral movement like ours, the more certain is their discomfiture, and the more speedy its triumph. The occurrence of this case so soon after the law of the land had been laid down by the Supreme Court, exemplifying its practical bearings upon the rights of the nominally free, as well as upon the slaves, was most opportune, and must ever mark an era in the great history of Emancipation.

#### RIGHTS OF MINOR SLAVES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Supreme Court of our Commonwealth, to its honor be it told, has made an advance the past year on the decision in the Med case, and that in regard to a point of considerable practical importance. Nothing is more common than for the wives of slaveholders to bring with them from the South young slaves, as attendants during their Northern tours. In the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Taylor, 3 Metcalf 72, which was the case of a child eight years old, brought into the State by Mrs. Taylor, with the consent of its master, and whom she intended to carry back to Arkansas, if the child should consent, the Court held, 'that the consent of so young a child would not authorize his removal into slavery, and ordered him to be delivered to the guardians who had been appointed for him by the Judge of Probate under the revised statutes.' The Judge of Probate may appoint such guardian for all under fourteen years of age; and as the Supreme Court appears to have considered his having exercised this right as an important feature of the case, the question may probably be considered settled for all under that age, who shall be claimed as slaves.

## RECENT DOINGS IN CONGRESS.

Since this Report was in preparation, Mr. Slade, of Vermont, has offered in the House of Representatives an admirable preamble and resolution, in favor of the immediate abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. The presentation of the resolution not being in order at the time, the vote was taken on a motion to suspend the rules, that it might be offered. This was rejected by a vote of 111 to 73. Mr. Giddings has also raised the slavery question again upon the floor of Congress, by moving to re-commit the bill for compensating the people of Florida for injuries done by General Jackson, in his incursion into that province, in 1814, with instructions to report a proviso, that nothing therein contained should be construed to authorize payment for slaves. This motion he sustained with much ability, and it caused no small excitement among the Northern and Southern supporters of the peculiar institution. It is probable that the whole question of slavery will be opened in the debate upon this motion, and its agitation upon that conspicuous platform, whatever be the fate of the motion that produces it, cannot but be attended with the happiest effects.

## TEMPTATIONS AND DANGERS OF ABOLITIONISTS.

The temptations of abolitionists to unfaithfulness are ever varying with the shifting aspects of their cause. In the days of its apparent adversity, they are tempted to shrink from its toils and dangers by cowardice. When a more prosperous hour seems to have arrived in its history, they are tempted to pervert it to their own private ends by selfishness. Temptation assumes a thousand different shapes, that it may find its way to every heart. To one it comes in the substantial form of daily bread, which seems to be endangered by fidelity. To another it takes the more airy shape of reputation and good name, and cheats many

of the substance while they seek to secure the shadow. Ambition whispers in some ears that their claims to prominence in the movement are postponed to those of others who have deserved no more than they. Sect and party are ever ready with their words of seduction. The earnest and sanguine are tempted to be impatient of the calm and deliberate, and to measure the fidelity of all by their own glowing standard. The gentle and refined, on the contrary, are in danger of seeking to disown the fervent and glowing spirit, because its words and deeds do not always conform to their own rule of prudence or of taste. Every one is tempted to make some concession to the public sentiment of his own public, to secure its co-operation. The political partizan thinks that a small deviation from the direct line of duty will procure the support of this or that party, to which he inclines. The sectarians once believed that they had but to renounce all fellowship with those who were most odious in the eyes of their religious world, and that whole world would be ready, as it promised, to join them in their anti-slavery movement. But, they were soon undeceived, and, finding themselves shorn of their strength, were forced in most instances to take shelter under the protecting wings of their sects. The intellectual and educated man is, at the present moment, in a position of somewhat similar danger. It may seem to him that all that is necessary to win the helping hands of the refined and cultivated is, to separate the cause from those who, he may think, are injuring it, by what seems to him violence or bad taste. If the cause could be but divested of the idea of vulgarity, which is attached to it in elegant minds, and it might be carried forward to the triumph of Emancipation 'on flowery beds of ease.' But all such expectations are even more delusive than those that beguiled the sects. The anti-slavery cause must remain a vulgar cause in the eyes of the learned and the fashionable world, even to the last. The

abolitionists must make up their minds to be despised and rejected of men until their work is done. That work cannot be done, except by men who are willing to identify themselves with the slaves. When slavery is a bygone abomination, and prejudice against color a half-doubted absurdity of the past, will the anti-slavery cause be seen by the world in general in all its simple, yet noble beauty, and not till then.

These are a few of the temptations that beset the abolitionists. Their dangers are also manifold, both from within and from without. They need ever to walk girt with watchfulness and preparation. There was never a time when more circumspection was called for than the present. The cause of Freedom is ever encompassed with foes of a thousand shapes.

'A wild and many-weaponed throng  
Hang on its front, its flank, its rear.'

But, of all the foes that surround it, there are none more dangerous than those that claim to be of the household of Freedom, and to have been baptized into her name. Men who have in times past betrayed and deserted the cause, yielding to the threats and the seductions of their peculiar public, finding that the hostile organizations, upon which they relied for power or bread, have miserably perished, are now desirous of again obtaining the control of the only men from whom money or labor is to be obtained. Multitudes of devices are sought out to effect this purpose, and endeavors are made to divert the energies of abolitionists to new fields, where they may be seduced to give their countenance and support to men who have justly forfeited both by their former treachery. The men who, in obedience to the mandates of their religious public, endeavored to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society, who robbed it of its property, misrepresented its purposes, and scattered defamation over the whole civilized world against its members, and who stood by and

gave them the encouragement of a feigned neutrality, now wish to recover the influence and the livelihoods which they obtained from the cause in the days of their early fidelity. Against these persons the abolitionists should be eternally on their guard. They are in continual danger of being swindled out of their confidence and their money under false pretences. They have no moral right to give either to men who have proved themselves by their deeds to be unprincipled, both with regard to truth and to property. Incalculable mischief may be done to the cause by a misuse of the talent of confidence, which is entrusted to us for the best of purposes. It at least behoves us to be as wary on behalf of the slave, whose servants we are, as in our own private relations, and not to give countenance or support to men in this enterprise, which we would refuse to persons guilty of similar acts in commercial or financial capacities. If the persons who have thus in former times endeavored to pervert the cause to their own private or sectarian purposes are truly repentant for what they have done, they can at any time return to duty, and earn fresh confidence by renewed fidelity. The anti-slavery platform is the same it has always been since the inception of the enterprise, and they that stand upon it present the front to the enemy that they have ever done. We cannot, without folly or treachery, shift our position for the accommodation of those who have deserted us. They can come to us whenever they are ready to atone for past misconduct by future faithfulness, and they may be sure of a joyful welcome. Till then, let all abolitionists be wary and wisely suspicious.

#### OUR PROSPECTS.

It is the felicity of an enterprize like ours, founded on the eternal principles of truth and justice, that its progress must ever be onward. Nothing can materially impede its progress. The

obstacles that are thrown in its way seem only to hasten the speed with which it advances to its triumph. Every thing helps it forward. The violence of mobs, the decrees of Fashion, the fulminations of Bigotry, have not been able to retard it. Even the treachery and defection of its sometime friends have only seemed to lighten it of an oppressive load. Every day proves to us the soundness of the philosophy upon which this Reform was commenced, and upon which it has been carried on to this day. It was the philosophy of common sense, applied to the removal of a mighty evil, which threatened the whole country, as well as its immediate victims, with sudden destruction. Knowing that this evil existed only by the toleration of the people of the Free States, and knowing also that there was no hope for its peaceful extinction, but in the awakening of the people to a sense of their guilt and danger, by the exposition of facts, and appeals to their consciences and their hearts, we followed the social instincts of our nature, and united our efforts and our means for a common end. This union has enabled us to produce a great amount of wholesome agitation of the subject throughout the country, of which we daily see the happy effects. The change which the Anti-Slavery Societies, since their establishment ten years ago, have worked in the public mind on this subject, is, we believe, without parallel in the history of Reform. To those who recollect the stupid apathy of the public mind on the subject of slavery before those organizations agitated it, and the ferocious attempts which were made to destroy them in their day of small things, even its present partial re-animation seems to be almost the fullness of life. We see this change on the floor of Congress, in the halls of State legislation, in the tactics of political and religious parties, on the Exchange, in the Saloons. The anti-slavery influence which they have generated is daily increasing in its power, and extending in its sphere. Nothing seems to be neces-

sary, but a faithful adherence to our principles and the methods we have proved to be effectual, for the accomplishment of our noble end. Although we watch with joy and gladness the gradual leavening of the hearts and minds of the people with anti-slavery truth, still we believe that, even to the end, the heat and burden of the day will fall upon the few. We cannot expect that the anti-slavery cause, in its practical, working embodiment, will ever be otherwise than generally odious. Slavery must remain, till its last gasp, so connected with the political, religious and commercial interests of the country, that they who assault it in good set earnest must needs be hated and feared by great multitudes. Earthly gain or glory are not to be looked for by those who have assumed the cross of this warfare. There is no reward proposed to us but the satisfaction of having tried to do our duty. In the patient application of seemingly inadequate means for the accomplishment of great ends, in the singleness of our devotion to our holy cause, and in our mutual sympathy and love, we must look to find our earthly satisfactions. Our business is to do our duty, fearing nothing for the results. Success we may never witness, but we cannot be deprived of the satisfaction of effort. Victory may never be ours, but we may at least enjoy ‘the rapture of the strife.’ Our godlike business is, to rescue an oppressed nation of our countrymen from a depth of misery and degradation, for which language has no adequate description, and to save our country from the bloody doom which her participation in this cruel guilt, aggravated by her hypocritical pretensions to liberty and religion, has justly merited. It may be that our interposition has come too late. The cup of the abominations of this people, which they have filled to the brim, may not be permitted to pass away from them until they have drained it to the bitter dregs. We may be fated to see the boasted fabric of our country’s liberties crumble to pieces, as we have already

seen it perverted to the very purposes of tyranny which it was established to defeat, as all institutions founded upon a falsehood have ever done, and must ever do. But we may, at least, in such an event, secure to ourselves the satisfaction of knowing that we are innocent of the calamity of the land; that our skirts are free from the blood of any of our countrymen; that the testimonies of our words and of our deeds have been ever distinct and emphatic. For this purpose have we combined our energies and our means in this organization;—to this exalted end have we devoted our lives. The accomplishment of this purpose—the attainment of this end—depends only upon ourselves. The success of our efforts is in a Higher Hand—their fidelity in our own. Whether our country and our countrymen can yet be saved from the curse that ever waits upon crime, or whether both are destined to be overwhelmed by the mighty consequences of their guilt, we cannot tell. But, we thank God that we know, that by a faithful discharge of our duty we can free our own souls from the blood-guiltiness of the land.



## TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.



### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, January 15, 1842.....	\$526 50
Received from sale of pew in Roxbury, presented by J. C. Gore.....	60 00
Received from Ladies' Anti-Slavery Fair in Dedham.....	50 00
Received from collection of old book account.....	25 50
From Abner Belcher, in part, for the bequest of the late Philander Ware.....	1000 00
From sale of Paintings taken from the Board Room.....	15 00
From sale of $\frac{1}{4}$ of township of land in Maine, donation of John C. Gore.....	210 00
From sale of Portrait of the late Dr. Gardner, donation of John C. Gore.....	200 00
From the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair, 1842.....	2082 79
From subscriptions and donations, including collections by agents, } as published monthly in the Liberator,	1827 26
Making a total of.....	\$6,027 05

### DISBURSEMENTS.

Balance paid John Jones, agent .....	\$21 38
Paid office rent, No. 25 Cornhill, for one year .....	310 00
Paid for use of Melodeon for annual meeting, 1842 .....	60 00
Amount paid at sundry times to J. A. Collins, General Agent .....	787 65
Paid for covering Irish Address .....	15 30
Sundry bills for boarding delegates to last annual meeting .....	46 95
Use of Marlboro' Chapel, April 6 and 7 .....	35 00
Balance of Wm. Ashby's loan .....	25 00
Paid George C. Leach for services as agent .....	16 25
Paid Frederic Douglass, at sundry times, as agent .....	300 36
Paid Abel Tanner, as agent .....	52 97
Paid J. B. Sanderson, as agent .....	70 21
Paid for paper and printing 500 copies of Tenth Annual Report .....	138 71
Paid Addison Davis as agent .....	72 26
Paid Jairus Lincoln as agent .....	35 57
Paid George Bradburn as agent .....	331 27
Paid Crosby's bill of Books .....	36 88
Paid balance steam-boat chartered to and from New-York in May .....	97 60
Paid Devereaux for printing .....	31 00
Paid George Foster as agent .....	9 00
Paid Grant, Daniel and Co. for paper .....	88 57
Paid James Boyle as agent .....	115 97
Paid expenses on Portrait of Dr. Gardner and on sales of land in Maine .....	7 97
Paid for insurance of Depository .....	11 25
Sundry postage bills .....	42 35
Paid at sundry times to the American Anti-Slavery Society .....	2087 50
Paid transportation of books to and from Liverpool .....	7 00
Paid for advertising meetings .....	17 00
Paid for lighting Faneuil Hall, and for attendance .....	7 00
Paid by order of the Board for ten thousand Anti-Slavery Almanacks .....	250 00
Paid D. L. Child's expenses to Washington, by order Com. of the Fair .....	36 00
Paid for one hundred copies of the Liberator, by order Com. of the Fair .....	100 00
Paid Dow and Jackson's bill for paper and printing the A. S. Picknick .....	186 00
Paid for use of Faneuil Hall and Marlboro' Chapel in Oct. and Nov. ....	32 29
Paid for fifty copies of the Liberator sent to Members of Congress .....	88 90
Paid E. W. Bouve's bill for Lithographing Circulars .....	24 85
Making a total of.....	\$5,659 31

Leaving a balance in the Treasury, on the 22d inst. of ..... \$367 74

E. E.

S. PHILBRICK, Treasurer.

January 23, 1843.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.

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I HAVE examined the foregoing account, and find the same duly vouched and properly cast, and that there is a balance in the hands of the Treasurer, due to the Society, of three hundred and sixty-seven dollars and seventy-four cents.

S. E. SEWALL, Auditor.

BOSTON, January 23, 1843.

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

### VICE PRESIDENTS.

SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury,	JOSIAH GIFFORD, Sandwich,
ANDREW ROBESON, N. Bedford,	GEORGE BRADBURN, Nantucket,
NATH'L B. BORDEN, Fall River,	SUMNER LINCOLN, Whateley,
GEORGE T. DAVIS, Greenfield,	SAMUEL MAY, Leicester,
S. LOTHROP, Cambridgeport,	HARRIS COWDRY, Acton,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Boston,	WILLIAM ADAM, Northampton,
SAMUEL J. MAY, Lexington,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	THEODORE P. LOCKE, Barre,
J. M. FISKE, West Brookfield,	WILLIAM BASSETT, Lynn,
J. T. EVERETT, Princeton,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
E. L. CAPRON, Uxbridge,	CAROLINE WESTON, Boston,
WM. B. EARLE, Leicester,	CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, Boston,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	JOHN M. SPEAR, Weymouth.
H. G. WOOD, Middleboro',	

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, Boston.

### TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

### AUDITOR.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.

### COUNSELLORS.

ELLIS GRAY LORING,	JOHN T. HILTON,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,	EDMUND QUINCY,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
EDMUND JACKSON,	JOHN A. COLLINS,
CHARLES L. REMOND,	HENRY I. BOWDITCH.



## A P P E N D I X.

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### ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

### MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at Faneuil Hall, in the city of Boston, commencing on Wednesday, January 25, 1843, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, in the chair.

Prayer was offered by J. T. Raymond, of Boston.

John F. Emerson, of New-Bedford, Cornelius Bramhall, of Boston, and William Bassett, of Lynn, were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of H. W. Williams, voted, that a Business Committee of seven be chosen. The following persons were appointed, viz: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, N. P. Rogers, George Bradburn, John A. Collins, C. L. Remond.

On motion of William Bassett, voted, that a Committee of three be appointed on Finance and the Roll. Charles K. Whipple, James N. Buffum, Cyrus M. Burleigh, were appointed.

On motion of E. Quincy, voted, that a Committee, consisting of one person from each county, be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year. The following persons were appointed, viz: Seth Sprague of Plymouth, Wm. L. Garrison of Middlesex, Samuel May of Worcester, Wm. Ashby, Jr. of Essex, John M. Spear of Norfolk, Franklin Emerson of Bristol, John A. Collins of Suffolk, George Bradburn of Nantucket.

The Treasurer, Samuel Philbrick, read his Report, which, on motion of C. Bramhall, was accepted.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, voted, that the Annual Report be read.

On motion of E. Quincy, voted, that when this meeting adjourn, it be to half past 2 o'clock, P. M.

C. M. Burleigh, from the Committee on Finance and the Roll, reported the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That every person present be requested to give one dollar, or such other sum as they may deem expedient, to defray the expenses of the meeting and the publication of the Annual Report.

A song was then sung by the Hutchinson Family, the celebrated vocalists from New-Hampshire.

Edmund Quincy proceeded to read the Annual Report of the Board of Managers, and read till one o'clock; when, after a song by the Hutchinsons, the meeting adjourned.

#### WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Met according to adjournment. Edmund Quincy concluded the reading of the Annual Report; after which the song, 'God speed the Right,' was sung by a juvenile choir.

Mr. T. Haskell stated that a difference of opinion existed between himself and the Board of Managers, in relation to some of the topics commented on in the Annual Report; whereupon, on motion of J. N. Buffum, a Committee of three, consisting of Messrs. J. N. Buffum, E. D. Hudson, and John Allen, was appointed to investigate the causes of difference, and report.

Wendell Phillips, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, rejoicing as we do in the great advance of anti-slavery sentiment in the free States, we still perceive the vast difference between the principles which actuate most of those who profess them, and our own; and we seize this opportunity to proclaim, that we demand for the slave immediate, unconditional emancipation, without expatriation on his part, or compensation for his master.

Resolved, That no abolitionist can consistently demand less

than a dissolution of the union between Northern freedom and Southern slavery, as essential to the preservation of the one and the abolition of the other.

On motion, the resolution first reported was taken up for consideration, and was unanimously adopted.

The second resolution of the Business Committee was eloquently advocated by Wendell Phillips, after which the Society adjourned to meet at 7 o'clock.

#### WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall at 7 o'clock. After two songs by the juvenile choir, the resolution under consideration at the time of afternoon adjournment, was strenuously opposed by George Bradburn of Nantucket. A song from the Messrs. Hutchinson followed, and the discussion was then continued by Messrs. Jewett of Providence, E. D. Hudson of Northampton, Frederic Douglass of Lynn, C. L. Remond of Salem, Wm. W. Marjoram and G. W. F. Mellen of Boston.

After another song by the Hutchinsons, the Society adjourned to meet in Faneuil Hall at 11 o'clock on Thursday.

#### THURSDAY MORNING.

The Society met at 10 o'clock. Prayer was offered by Mr. Jewett of Providence.

On motion of S. Sprague, H. A. Morse of Holliston was added to the Committee on Nominations.

The discussion of the resolution in relation to the dissolution of the Union was continued by Mr. Poole, of Portsmouth, N. H.

On nomination of the Chair, E. D. Hudson of Northampton was appointed a member of the Nominating Committee.

Mr. Charles Lane of England was then introduced to the meeting, and addressed it in favor of the resolution.

N. P. Rogers, of Concord, N. H., presented sundry resolutions, with a request that they be considered in connection with those already before the meeting.

The discussion was resumed by C. M. Burleigh, and after a most inspiring song by the Hutchinson Family, was continued by T. P. Beach of New-Hampshire, Henry G. Wright of Eng-

land, W. L. Garrison, and George Bradburn; and at 1 o'clock, on motion of John A. Collins, the Society adjourned to half past 2 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

The resolution in relation to the dissolution of the Union was further considered; remarks being made by Messrs. W. B. Earle of Leicester, Abel Tanner of Rhode Island, N. Picket of Rochester, N. Y., Wendell Phillips of Boston, John M. Spear of Weymouth, (who read an extract of a letter from John Quincy Adams,) and Frederic Douglass. The discussion was enlivened by two appropriate songs by the Messrs. Hutchinson.

On motion of Edmund Quincy, it was voted, that when the Society adjourns this evening, it adjourn to meet in this place to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, to give opportunity for a meeting of friends of the Liberator at 9 o'clock.

John A. Collins of Boston moved to amend the resolution by inserting the words 'between the free States and the slave States' after the words 'southern slavery,' which motion was carried, and the resolution, as amended, was passed.

The Society adjourned to meet at the State House at 7 o'clock.

THURSDAY EVENING.

The Society met at the State House. The meeting was opened by a heart-stirring song by the Hutchinsons.

Edmund Quincy of Dedham offered the following resolution, and advocated its passage in an able speech.

Resolved, That so long as Massachusetts pledges the physical force of her sons to protect her sister slaveholding States against domestic violence, she is practically a slave State: that so long as she throws open her soil as a free hunting-ground for the master in pursuit of his fugitive, she is practically a slave State: that so long as she sends back to the slave laws of the South the alleged offenders against them, she is practically a slave State: that so long as she requires her executive and legislative officers to swear to support a Constitution which in some parts protects the slave system, she is practically a slave State.

He was followed by Mr. Treadwell of Brooklyn, N. Y., in opposition to the resolution, and by Frederic Douglass, 'a chattel personal,' in its favor.

Another song by the 'New-Hampshire Rainers' followed, to the great gratification of the audience.

The stand was then taken by George Bradburn of Nantucket, who adverted to the measures which are proposed during the present session of the Legislature, in a most happy manner, showing most conclusively the utter inconsistency of refusing to adopt those measures.

He was succeeded by C. L. Remond of Salem, who presented and supported, with great ability, the following resolution:

Resolved, That in view of the overwhelming influences of Church and State, marshalled against us, and encouraged by the past success of our efforts, we recognize the duty of personal, earnest, self-denying exertions in behalf of the slave, and pledge ourselves to remit no effort in our power to hasten the day of his deliverance.

Mr. Garrison read a portion of a speech of George Thompson in relation to the reception of persons of color in other countries, which he prefaced with remarks showing the absurdity of the assertion that a prejudice against color is universal in human nature, since in countries where color is not a badge of slavery this prejudice has no existence.

Remarks to the same point were made by N. P. Rogers of New-Hampshire, who excused himself from speaking at length on account of illness.

Wendell Phillips being then loudly called for, came forward, but gave way for a few remarks from C. L. Remond in relation to the treatment of persons of color upon some of the rail-roads of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Phillips proceeded, in a strain of thrilling eloquence, and took his seat amidst loud applause.

The resolutions offered by Messrs. Quincy and Remond were then adopted by acclamation.

After a song by the Hutchinsons, the Society adjourned to Friday morning, at 11 o'clock.

FRIDAY MORNING.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, in Faneuil Hall, at 11 o'clock; Wm. Bassett, a Vice President, in the chair.

After a most inspiring song from the Hutchinsons, the Report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by its Chairman, Seth Sprague of Duxbury. The Report was accepted, and the persons therein named elected officers of the Society for the year ensuing. [See page 87.]

Samuel May of Leicester moved the reconsideration of the resolution adopted yesterday afternoon in relation to a dissolution of the Union. The motion was sustained by W. B. Earle of Leicester, and Mr. Treadwell of New-York; after which E. Quincy moved that the question be laid upon the table, which motion was lost, and the discussion was continued by Seth Sprague of Duxbury, J. A. Collins of Boston, and the Messrs. Hutchinson, (in an appropriate song on the subject,) after which the resolution was reconsidered.

The resolution was again brought forward in its original form, as first offered by the Business Committee.

J. A. Collins offered a substitute, which was rejected.

W. A. White of Watertown then moved to strike out all after the word resolved, and insert — ‘That no abolitionist can consistently demand less than a repeal of so much of the Union between the North and the South as supports the system of slavery, and, provided this repeal cannot be effected, should demand a repeal of the Union itself.’

Mr. Treadwell of New-York then moved a substitute, which was rejected.

W. L. Garrison then offered an amendment as a substitute for the amendment of Mr. White, which, after having been opposed by Mr. Treadwell, and John Rand of Milton, and ably sustained by the mover, was accepted, and the resolution adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the compact which exists between the North and the South is ‘a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell’ — involving both parties in atrocious criminality; and should be immediately annulled.

Voted, to adjourn to 2 1-2 o'clock.

## FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society met in Faneuil Hall; Francis Jackson, the President, in the chair.

Wendell Phillips, in behalf of the Business Committee, offered several resolutions in relation to the Church, which, after discussion by Wm. L. Garrison and Seth Sprague, were amended by the substitution of the following, and farther commented on by Messrs. John Allen of Rockport, N. P. Rogers of New-Hampshire, Hiram Wilson of Canada, Frederick Douglass, Mr. Treadwell, and N. Pickett of Western New-York.

Resolved. That the Church or the minister that refuses to treat the sin of slaveholding, which is the sum of all other sins, its perpetrators and abettors, near and remote, direct and indirect, as they do all other sins and sinners, is not a Church of Christ, or a minister of the gospel; and that it is the duty of all true abolitionists to withdraw all support or countenance from such ministers and Churches.

A thrilling song followed, by the Hutchinson brothers, and, on motion, the Society adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock.

## FRIDAY EVENING.

The Society was called to order by the President.

On motion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the resolutions under discussion at the time of adjournment were laid upon the table, for the purpose of considering the following, which were presented by N. P. Rogers, and which were adopted:

Resolved, That the reception of the great anti-slavery Address of O'Connell, and his 60,000 countrymen, by the Irish of this country, with their neglect to answer its spirit-stirring call to join the ranks of the abolitionists, is deeply dishonorable to them, and a shame to the land of their birth; proving that Ireland has not sent us her true children, or that the democratic climate of New-England is fatal to the liberty-loving spirit; and further resolved, that the course of the Catholic newspapers and ecclesiastics of this country, in relation to the Irish Address, and the abolitionists, shows the spirit of Popery to be as bigoted, tyrannical and pro-slavery, as that of New-England Protestantism.

Resolved, That in behalf of humanity, the abolitionists would

take occasion, at this annual meeting, to acknowledge the generous and tasteful aid of their coadjutors on the other side of the water, in England, Scotland and Ireland, furnished the late Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair.

Resolved, That the abolitionists of this country hail with heartfelt cheering, the glorious coadjutor band of Irishmen, the little company in Dublin, who meet for humanity every week at the Royal Exchange, the Faneuil Hall of that interesting old capital, and that we reach the right hand of fellowship to them, cordially, across the water.

Wm. L. Garrison offered the following resolution, which was also passed:

Resolved, That in the decease of our worthy and venerable friend, Wm. P. Ripley, of Plymouth, this Society has lost an indefatigable and unflinching supporter, and the anti-slavery cause one of its most devoted, sincere and valuable coadjutors. ‘The memory of the just is blessed.’

G. W. F. Mellen presented the succeeding resolutions, which were accepted without debate:

Resolved, That the imprisoning of Messrs. Thompson, Work and Burr, in a jail in Missouri, as alleged for aiding the slave in escaping from his bondage, is unchristian and anti-republican, and ought to call forth the united voice of every abolitionist and lover of liberty in the country for their liberation: for what man is there, who, if he should have father, mother, brother, sister, or friend, in the prison-house of slavery, would not do all in his power for their release, and feel it to be a religious duty imposed upon him, to break the chain of the oppressor in the most effectual manner possible? And may not the slave in our Southern States say, ‘Am I not a man and a brother?’

Resolved, That in the late decision of the Supreme Court in in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania, and in the case of Latimer, in Boston, doctrines are advanced utterly adverse to the rights of the people of the several States in this Union, which, if not reversed, must have a tendency to interrupt the harmony of these States; for it cannot be supposed that the people of the free States are so lost to all self-respect and to their political rights, as to be willing to give up, under any government,

the right to a trial by jury, to the writ of *habeas corpus*, and an action of assault and battery when their rights are invaded.

The following resolution, offered by Edmund Quincy, and seconded by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the death of Henry G. Chapman, late Treasurer of this Society, has deprived the anti-slavery cause of the wise counsels and earnest services of a most faithful and devoted friend, of whom we shall ever retain an affectionate and grateful remembrance.

The resolve in relation to the Irish Address was then, on motion of W. L. Garrison, reconsidered, to allow opportunity for further debate. Remarks were then offered by W. L. Garrison, George Bradburn, and James Cambell of Boston; after which the resolution was again adopted.

A song followed from the Hutchinsons, which was received with thunders of applause, calling for its repetition; and another was sung to the great gratification of the audience.

Wm. L. Garrison presented and ably advocated the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation:

Resolved, That Anti-Slavery has rejoiced, from the beginning, in the aid of *Poetry*, which is naturally and instinctively on the side of liberty,—it being impossible, in the Providence of God, that Poetry should ever stoop her wing to the accursed service of slavery,—and Humanity exults and rejoices in her other natural ally, *Music*, so gloriously represented here, in the old Liberty Cradle, by ‘the New-Hampshire Rainers,’ whom Massachusetts abolitionism welcomes here, from their White Mountains, and thanks them for their free strains, in the name of down-trodden humanity.

Wm. B. Earle offered and sustained the following, which was adopted:

Whereas, on the 3d of December, 1819, a large and respectable meeting of citizens from this and numerous other towns in the State convened in the State House, to take into consideration the measures necessary to be adopted to prevent the further extension of slavery in the United States:

James T. Austin, Esq. opened the debate, and after ably and eloquently discussing the general subject, concluded by moving

that a Committee be appointed to consider and report what measures were necessary to be adopted by this meeting; which was unanimously passed.

The Chairman nominated Hon. William Eustis, Hon. John Phillips, Hon. Timothy Bigelow, Hon. William Gray, Hon. Henry Dearborn, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Hon. Daniel Webster, William Ward, Esq. of Medford, Hon. Wm. Prescott, Hon. Thomas H. Perkins, Stephen White, Jr. of Salem, Hon. Benjamin Pickman, Hon. Wm. Sullivan, George Blake, David Cummings, of Salem, James Savage, John Gallison, James T. Austin, and Henry Orne, Esqs., who made a report, from which the following extract is made, viz :

' To those who are making efforts to prevent the extension of slavery, it is a source of equal pride and pleasure to know, that they are countenanced and supported by characters most venerable in those States in which it is not yet abolished, and if to these are added the fervent wishes of their fellow-citizens in other States, the appeal, we trust, will not be disregarded. It is, therefore,

' Resolved, as the opinion of this meeting, That the Congress of the United States possesses the Constitutional power, upon the admission of any new State created beyond the limits of the original territory of the United States, to make the prohibition of the further extension of slavery, or involuntary servitude, in such new State, a condition of its admission.

' Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is just and expedient that this power should be exercised by Congress, upon the admission of all new States created beyond the original limits of the United States.'

This report was unanimously accepted, and Messrs. Webster, Blake, Quincy, Austin, and Gallison, were appointed a Committee to transmit the resolutions to the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress, and to draft a memorial to that honorable body for the signatures of the citizens. Therefore,

Resolved, by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, That we reaffirm the principles of the above resolutions, and claim of the distinguished men who took part in the proceedings above stated, by the regard they owe to justice or consistency, to give

us openly their aid and concurrence in urging them on the community.

On motion of Edmund Quincy, the Society proceeded to the consideration of the resolutions on the table at the time of the afternoon adjournment.

The resolution relating to the Church and ministry, being first in order, was taken up and adopted; after which the following resolution was offered by Wm. L. Garrison, and commented on by the mover, C. L. Remond, and Wendell Phillips, whose remarks called forth frequent and enthusiastic applause:

Resolved, That the nomination of Henry Clay, the author of the fatal and infamous Missouri compromise, the unrelenting holder of sixty human beings as his property, and the determined enemy of the cause of emancipation, for the Presidency of the United States, is an insult to all true friends of liberty, an outrage on the cause of bleeding humanity, which we believe will never be sanctioned by the people of Massachusetts.

The Hutchinsons followed, in a most thrilling strain, which was rapturously applauded, and, on its repetition, was received with loud cheers.

The question being then called for, the resolution was almost unanimously adopted.

Edmund Quincy offered the following resolution, which was adopted without debate:

Resolved, That the abolitionists of the United States should never be lulled into a false security that the danger of the annexation of Texas to the Union is over; but that they should be forever on their guard against the insidious arts of the slave power, which they may be assured will never cease to demand the acquisition of that territory for the extension of their fatal system of labor.

Wendell Phillips presented the following resolution, which was also adopted:

Resolved, That while we cast from us the shackles of both political parties, we repudiate, at the same time, that which claims to be a third, and assumes the style of 'Liberty party'—as a misdirection and waste of effort, an attempt at impossibili-

ties, inconsistent in all its principles, and recreant in the little practice which has been permitted it.

The following was also adopted:

Resolved, That the President and Secretary of this Society be instructed to present to the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts the following memorial:

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:*

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, convened in Faneuil Hall, would earnestly request the Legislature to erase from the statute book of this Commonwealth the odious and proscriptive law which prohibits the intermarriage of persons of different complexions, and also, so to define the powers of the rail-road corporations erected by the authority of the Commonwealth, and endowed by it with special privileges, as fully to secure colored persons travelling on said roads, from proscription, insult and personal violence from their officers.

Two songs followed, from the New-Hampshire vocalists, and, after giving six cheers, the Society adjourned *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

HENRY W. WILLIAMS,  
JOHN F. EMERSON,  
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,  
WILLIAM BASSETT, }  
                          } *Secretaries.*

## C O R R E S P O N D E N C E.

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THE following Correspondence, it will be seen, refers to a statement made in the foregoing Report, (p. 8,) in relation to the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. It appeared in the papers while the Report was in press, and justice to all parties appears to demand its publication in this place.

NATICK, January 27, 1843.

Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL:

Dear Sir,— During the past year, it has been stated in several of the public journals, that the reason the Legislature of this State did not pass resolutions sustaining Mr. Adams, when arraigned before the House of Representatives for presenting the Haverhill petition, was, that a member of our delegation wrote home that such action would endanger the passage of the bill for the payment of the Massachusetts claims. In the Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, made a few days since, this charge is distinctly made; and *you* are designated as the member. I beg of you to inform me whether you ever wrote such a letter, or gave such advice.

HENRY WILSON.

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WASHINGTON, January 31, 1843.

Dear Sir,— Yours of the 27th inst. is received, informing me that in the Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, made a few days since, ‘it is stated, that the reason why the Legislature of Massachusetts did not pass resolutions sustaining Mr. Adams, when arraigned before the House of Representatives for presenting the Haverhill petition, was, that such action would endanger the passage of the bill for the payment of the Massachusetts claims, and that I am designated as *the member*,’ and you request me to inform you whether I ever wrote such a letter, or gave such advice. In reply, I would inform you, that I never did write such a letter, or give such advice. So far from taking part against Mr. Adams in any way, on that occasion, or from shrinking from his support, for the reasons stated, or from any reasons or motives whatever, I sustained him fully and distinctly in the course he had taken, in a speech, which I regret was not published. It was the only one, I believe, delivered in the evening during the session, and owing to some controversy between the officers of the House and the reporters for ‘The

Intelligencer,' as to lights for their desks, no report of it was made for that paper. This is mentioned in the Intelligencer of January 29th, 1812. The editors urged me to write it out, but as I had only very few notes, it was impossible for me to report it as it was delivered, and I did not attempt it. A brief account of the speech is given in the Globe of January 28th, closing as follows:—'Mr. Saltonstall then went into a vigorous reply to Mr. Wise, and eloquently defended his venerated colleague (Mr. Adams) from the numerous violent charges against him, in the long speech of the gentleman from Virginia.' In fact, I tried to get the floor for the purpose of replying to him, from the time he took his seat until I succeeded. It would be very strange, if, after defending Mr. Adams on the floor of the House, I had written home, advising against any legislative proceedings, and especially for the reasons stated in the report. It never occurred to me, that any course taken by the Massachusetts representatives here, or by the Legislature at home, on that occasion, would have any effect on the Massachusetts claims.

Let me also refer you to a correspondence, which will shortly be published in the Atlas, between the Whig members of our delegation and Mr. Adams, occasioned by a charge against them in the Emancipator, that they abandoned Mr. Adams, and from which Mr. Adams defended them, expressing his entire satisfaction with their course.

The Whig members, and I believe all the members of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, have stood by Mr. Adams, at all times, in his great and noble efforts as to the right of petition, and I may add, that we have voted on that, and upon all questions connected with it, as the anti-slavery party would themselves have done.

It is hardly necessary for me to add, that I have not written for the purpose, or with the expectation of gaining the support of the *anti-slavery political party*, for myself or any of my colleagues, but to defend myself against a groundless charge, and to save my colleagues here, and our friends at home, from the prejudice and injury which the accusation might otherwise occasion.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON COURIER:

At the session of the Massachusetts Legislature, held a year since, during the time that Mr. Adams was defending himself in Congress from the assaults of Mr. Marshall and others, Dr. Duggan of Quincy offered an Order, instructing a Committee to bring in resolutions, expressing their indignation at the arbitrary course adopted by Congress, and their sympathy with Mr. Adams.

That Committee never reported on the above Order. Much

surprise and disappointment were consequently felt, till, at last, in explanation of their extraordinary silence, it was stated in several newspapers, (your own among others,) that the Hon. Levere<sup>r</sup> Saltonstall had, (as was asserted,) written a letter from Washington to a friend in the Massachusetts Legislature, advising against the passage of resolutions of the character contemplated; on the ground that they would affect the prospect of payment, by Congress, of the Massachusetts claims; and I was named as authority for the statement.

The charge against Mr. Saltonstall *by name* has stood before the public for nearly a year. Until now, I have not thought it necessary to produce the evidence of it, because I have never seen any public denial by Mr. Saltonstall. In your paper of Thursday last, however, I see a letter from him to Mr. Wilson of Natick, in which, as I understand him, he fully denies the statement in question. I now, therefore, feel myself called on to state the facts, in detail.

On the evening of Feb. 17, 1842, I was at a large party, at the house of S. A. Eliot, Esq. During the evening, Joshua H. Ward, Esq. of Salem, a very intimate personal friend of Mr. Saltonstall, and a member of the Legislature, George C. Crowninshield, Esq. a very respectable gentleman of this city, and myself, were in conversation in the refreshment room, adjoining the ball room. Suddenly Mr. Crowninshield said to Mr. Ward, 'By the bye, Ward, what are you going to do in the Legislature about Mr. Adams? I am becoming somewhat of an abolitionist in my old age; I think we ought to give some demonstrations of our approval of his course in Congress.' 'I think so too,' replied Mr. Ward, 'but I fear we shall do nothing; for a letter has been received (or, I have received a letter) to-day from Mr. Saltonstall, telling us to beware of passing any resolutions very strongly favoring the old gentleman; for, if we do, we shall lose our Massachusetts claims. Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, is about to bring a bill into the Senate in favor of them, and if strong measures are adopted in reference to Mr. Adams, the bill will be lost.'

I uttered an exclamation of surprise, and Mr. Crowninshield answered in tones of astonishment, nearly in the following terms: 'That is too bad, to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage! These Southerners ought to be told that we will submit no longer; we have got to meet the question sometime, and the sooner we do so the better.'

The above is the substance of what was said, and very nearly, if not exactly, the expressions used. Mr. Ward mentioned the facts with perfect openness, and did not seem to wish concealment. Several persons were near at the time, and might have heard the words. Thinking it important to the country that it should be known who, in high places, were faithless to the great

principles involved in Mr. Adams's case, I spoke of the remarks I had heard to several friends, through one of whom they found their way into the public papers.

I would state that the above conversation was noted in a diary kept by me at the time, and that on conversing with Mr. Crowninshield upon the subject, about a week afterwards, he fully confirmed my record, even to the very expressions of surprise he made use of at the time. I cannot be — I am not deceived, as to what Mr. Ward asserted.

Knowing the very peculiar relations of intimacy and friendship, in which Mr. Ward stood to Mr. Saltonstall, it never occurred to me, for a moment, to doubt the fact he had stated. I gave it currency without hesitation ; and must leave to him the responsibility of reconciling it with Mr. Saltonstall's denial.

Mr. Ward has since had one interview, and sundry communications with me, on this subject. I cannot state the purport of this *subsequent* interview, &c. because he requested me, at the time, to consider them as confidential. I regret that I agreed to any such thing, for I have nothing to conceal. I wrote him on Thursday last, asking to be relieved from this obligation, so that the public might have all the facts. He, however, renews his injunction of secrecy. I shall obey him — but with this reservation, that if he undertakes to make public any portion of those 'confidential' matters, I shall feel myself absolved in relation to the whole.

H. I. BOWDITCH.

SALEM, February 15, 1843.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER:

Dear Sir,—I do not assent to the correctness of Dr. Bowditch's report of the coversation to which he alludes in his communication of Tuesday last. I have attributed the difference between our recollections of that conversation to a misconstruction by him (innocent, I doubt not) of my words. I was probably incorrectly understood, while stating the reasons, sufficient or insufficient, which had been urged upon me by various persons against offering the 'resolutions,' to attribute those reasons to a letter from Mr. Saltonstall, his name having been used in that conversation. It is of course impossible for me now to retrace or rehearse my words, or any of them, but it must be obvious, considering the place, (a ball room,) and the occasion on which we had met, that there might have been misapprehension on the part of Dr. B., or a deficiency in precision of language on my part in that unguarded, unstudied and incidental conversation.

I ought to add, that I have never received, nor do I believe that any person has received, from Mr. Saltonstall any letter which would justify the remark attributed to me.

JOSHUA H. WARD.



